

Kusaal Grammar

Agolle Dialect

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Preface

I worked as an eye surgeon in the Bawku Presbyterian Hospital in Ghana for some years in the 1990s. I had previously not so much as heard the name of the major language of the district, Kusaal. No instructional or descriptive materials were available, but with the benefit of some coaching from S (see Sources), and with much exposure to the language at work, I eventually learnt to cope in the stylised context of medical interaction with patients. I discovered order and beauty underlying a surface which had once seemed chaotic; I hope to convey a little of that beauty below.

When I lived in Ghana, little linguistic work on Kusaal had yet been published. Happily, the situation has now changed greatly, with the work of Urs Niggli and Hasiyatu Abubakari on Toende Kusaal, and the appearance of a full grammar of Agolle Kusaal by Anthony Agoswin Musah.

This work would not have been possible without four intelligent and patient language consultants. With great reluctance, I have not named them, as I cannot now confirm that they would wish to be identified. I am most grateful to all four.

I am grateful to Dr Tony Naden, who showed me hospitality worthy of Africa when I turned up out of the blue at his home in northern Ghana, and also gave me a number of helpful pointers. I was much helped by the staff of the Ghana Institute of Linguistics in Tamale, who among other kindnesses provided me with photocopies of David Spratt's unpublished introductory materials on Kusaal.

I am particularly grateful to Brian McLemore, Executive Director of Global Translation Services at Bible League International, and to the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation for permission to cite the Kusaal Bible versions.

More generally, I am grateful to the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, an organisation working in often difficult circumstances with tenacity and wisdom, and to the excellent Christoffelblindenmission, by whom I was seconded to Ghana. They did not mean to sponsor the writing of a grammar, but I am sure they will not mind that they did so as a side-effect.

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Abbreviations

C	consonant	cif	compound-initial form
ger	gerund	H	high tone
imp	imperative	intr	intransitive
ipf	imperfective	L	low tone
lf	long form	M	mid tone
m/c	main/content	NP	noun phrase
pf	perfective	pl	plural
sf	short form	sg	singular
tp	tone pattern	tr	transitive
V	vowel (VV = long vowel)	VP	verb phrase
X	circumflex tone	1s 2p ...	1st person sg, 2nd pl etc
1vb	one-aspect verb	2pS	2p subject after verb
2vb	two-aspect verb	3a 3i	3rd sg animate, inanimate

IMP IPF PL are capitalised in interlinear glosses.

Abbreviations only used in glossing are

CQ	content question	DEM	demonstrative
DP	discontinuous past	FOC	focus
IDF	indefinite	IR	irrealis
NG	negative	NZ	nominaliser
PQ	polar question	PZ	personaliser
TNS	tense	VOC	vocative
∅	dummy head pronoun	+	catenator

DEM IDF ∅ add lowercase a/i/p to mark animate/inanimate/plural: DEMa IDFP etc. Only 1s 2s are labelled as sg: other (pro)nominals are sg unless marked as pl or compound-initial. Compounds listed in §15 may be glossed with single words. Perfective and indicative are unlabelled, and 1vbs are not marked for aspect. The symbol · follows long forms §4.1; whenever it is immediately followed by punctuation or a space, the next word is segmentally zero, but it is glossed below. This same symbol · (not =) is used to join enclitics to hosts.

The subscripts after citation forms are explained in §3.

Abbreviations for sources and language consultants are given on page v.

Sources

David Spratt's work has been helpful on Kusaal phonology; otherwise, all analyses below are my own. The morphophonemics and basic syntax are based on discussion and elicitation with four first-language speakers of Agolle Kusaal: W from Koka, K from Tempane, D from Kukpariga, and S from Bawku. All spoke English well. All were male, and were then about forty; they occasionally commented on the incorrect grammar of the young (surely a cultural universal.) I noticed no systematic differences between the speech of men and women.

The description of higher-level syntax reflects my study of Bible versions and literacy materials produced by the dedicated work over many years of the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT):

B Kusaal Bible

- B1 *Wina'am Gboŋ*. 1976. World Home Bible League.
- B2 *Wina'am Gbauŋ*. 1996. The Bible League/GILLBT.
Text and audio via www.bible.is
- B3 *Wina'am Gbauŋ*. 2016. GILLBT. Android application.

- G1 *Bunkonbid ne Niis ne ba yela*. Abokiba, Matthew M. 1989.
- G2 *Kusaal Solima ne Siilima*. Akon, Samuel and Joe Anabah. 1981.
- G3 *Kusaas Kuob ne Yir yela Gbauŋ*. Sandow, William A and Joe Anabah. 1988.

These sources are cited as written, with a transliteration. Tone was checked against the B2 audio when it was specifically at issue.

Books of the Bible are abbreviated using the shorter forms from the Chicago Manual of Style; citations are from B3 unless stated otherwise.

Huddleston and Pullum 2002 is abbreviated CGEL.

Hausa is written in its standard orthography.

Arabic is given in ALA-LC romanisation, using classical forms.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Kusaal and the Kusaasi

Kusaal is the language of the Kusaasi, the majority ethnic group of the far northeast of Ghana, east of the Red Volta and north of the Gambaga Escarpment; the main local town is Bawku. There are also many Kusaasi settlements in the neighbouring part of Burkina Faso south of Zabré, and a few in Togo. The White Volta separates the western **Tùɛn** "Toende" part of this region from eastern **Àgòl** "Agolle."

The land is mostly open savanna with scattered trees. Much former woodland is now turned over to farming; tracts survive especially along the White Volta, where settlements are few because of the river blindness endemic there until recent times.

Most Kusaasi are cultivators, living in widely scattered compounds, each the domain of one family head with his wives, sons, daughters-in-law and grandchildren. Cattle-raising is common but is mostly the preserve of Fulani and Mossi. A single rainy season lasts unpredictably from May to October. The main crop is millet of various kinds, with rice to a lesser extent. Millet is used for the staple porridge **sā'ab**, called "TZ" /ti:'zɛd/ in local English (Hausa *tuwon zafi*, "hot porridge"), and the traditional beer, **dāam**, called "pito" (Hausa *fito*) in English.

Kusaasi belong to exogamous patrilineal clans (**dòɔd** "huts") associated with localities (I was once told: "The first thing a young man looking for a wife needs to do is to get a bicycle.") A Kusaasi person knows his or her clan, and often its **pōɔr** "slogan" (part of its lineage), but clan names are not used as surnames. Clans have their own distinctive customs, such as prohibitions against eating particular animals. The Kusaasi originally had no chiefs; in religious matters the local leading man is the **tɛŋ-dāan** "earth-priest", taken as the heir of the original first settler. In precolonial times the dominant political structures of the region were the Mossi-Dagomba states, heirs of polities founded around the fourteenth century by invaders traditionally held to be from the region of Lake Chad, who created hereditary chiefdoms among peoples who continued to provide the earth-priests. The founder, called Naa Gbewaa in Mampruli, ruled from Pusiga; he is said to have been swallowed by the earth there. In his sons' time the capital was relocated south to the Mamprussi lands. The Dagomba and Mossi kingdoms are cadet branches of this Mamprussi state. Unlike their neighbours, the Kusaasi were not absorbed into the system, and intermittent conflict has continued to this day, particularly over the chieftaincy of Bawku.

Ethnic group membership is patrilineal, and many Mamprussi in the Bawku area are in fact Kusaal-speaking. It was one of my Mamprussi colleagues who first gave me a Kusaal New Testament; he himself could not speak Mampruli.

The Kusaasi are part of a widespread culture encompassing neighbouring peoples like the Mossi, Farefare, Mamprussi, Dagomba and Balsa. Traditional Kusaasi dress resembles that of the Mamprussi, Dagomba and Mossi, including the long-sleeved **bānāa** smock, called a "fugu shirt" in English (**fūug** "clothing.")

Most Kusaasi retain their traditional animist outlook. The Creator, **Wīn** "God", is invoked in proverbs and greetings but is remote from everyday life. Proverbs say

Dìm nē Wīn, dā tō'as nē Wīnné. "Eat with God, don't talk with God."

eat.IMP with God NG.IMP talk with God·NG

Wīn nyé kà sīn.

"God sees and is silent."

God see and be.silent

Everyday religious practice is concerned with local non-anthropomorphic spirits, also called **wīn**. A **wīn** resides in a **būgūr**, an object such as a stone or horn. A central figure is the **bā'a** "diviner", who seeks guidance for a client by casting lots.

A human being consists of **nìn-gbīn** "body", **nyò-vūr** "life", **wīn** (here "spiritual individuality") and **kìkīrīs**, protective spirits ("fairies" in local English.) Men have three **kìkīrīs**, women four, because of the dangers of childbirth (throughout the cultural zone, three is the man's number, four the woman's.) There are wild **kìkīrīs** in the bush which try to lead travellers astray; their feet are attached backwards to confuse trackers (W.) **Sīug** "life force" is identified with a person's tutelary **kìkīrīs**; **sōñb** "witches" cause harm by stealing it.

The key term **wīn** has yet further senses, overlapping with the European concept of destiny: **wīn-tōog**, literally "having bitter **wīn**" is "misfortune." Most people have a particular **sīgīr** "guardian spirit" which is often the **wīn** of an ancestor; the word **būgūr** may also mean "a **sīgīr** inherited from one's mother's family." Many Kusaasi personal names refer to an individual's **sīgīr**.

In 1995 there were about 250,000 Kusaal speakers; the number has since increased substantially. Kusaal is used for all everyday interaction among Kusaasi of all ages, and also serves as an areal lingua franca for the many local Bisa people.

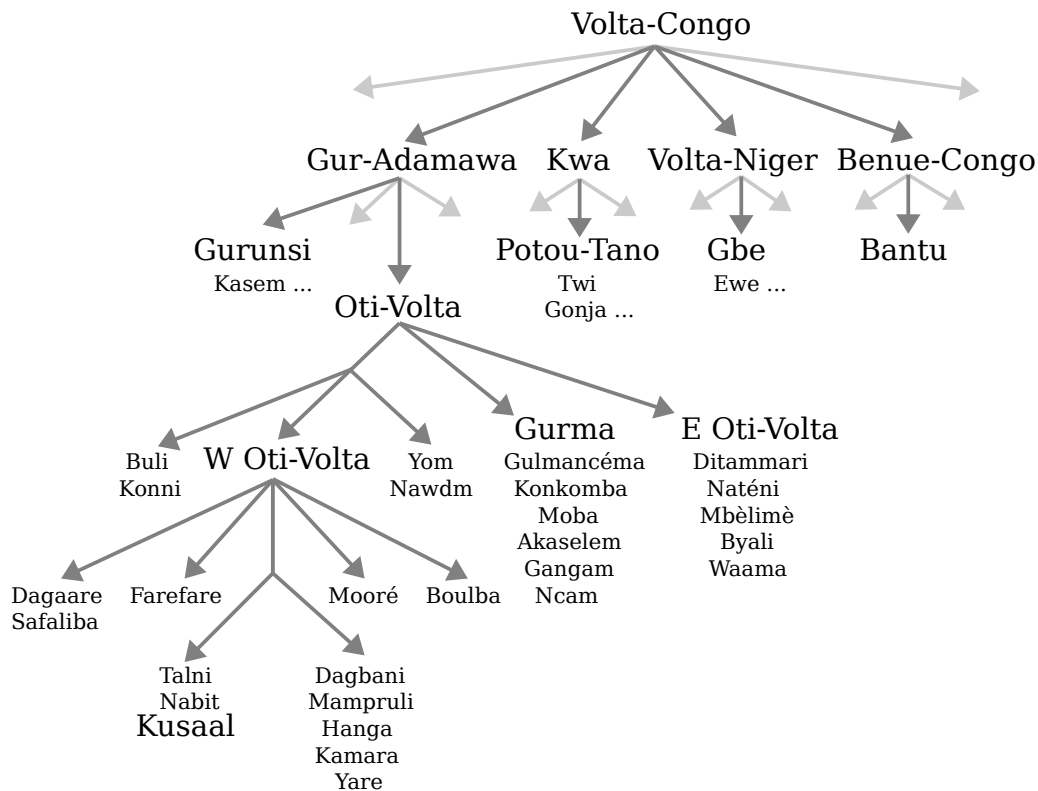
There is a sharp dialect division between Agolle and Toende Kusaal, probably due to depopulation near the White Volta from river blindness. My consultants understood Toende speakers quite well, but they are sophisticated multilinguals; moreover, Agolle speakers may find Toende Kusaal easier than *vice versa*. Berthelette reports that Ghanaian Toende speakers understand Agolle Kusaal significantly better than Burkina Faso Toende speakers do, presumably reflecting greater exposure. He gives the proportion of apparent lexical cognates between the dialects as 84%.

Written materials remain few, apart from the Bible translation into Agolle Kusaal, which is far and away the most extensive written work in the language.

Hausa is the most widespread lingua franca in the region; it is the main source of loanwords in Kusaal. In the 1990's few people outside Bawku knew Twi or English. About 10% of patients then attending our clinics in Bawku could speak English well enough for medical consultation; the majority were most comfortable with Kusaal, with Hausa and Mooré about equal in second place, often as vehicular languages.

1.2 Related languages

Kusaal belongs to the Western branch of the Oti-Volta language family.

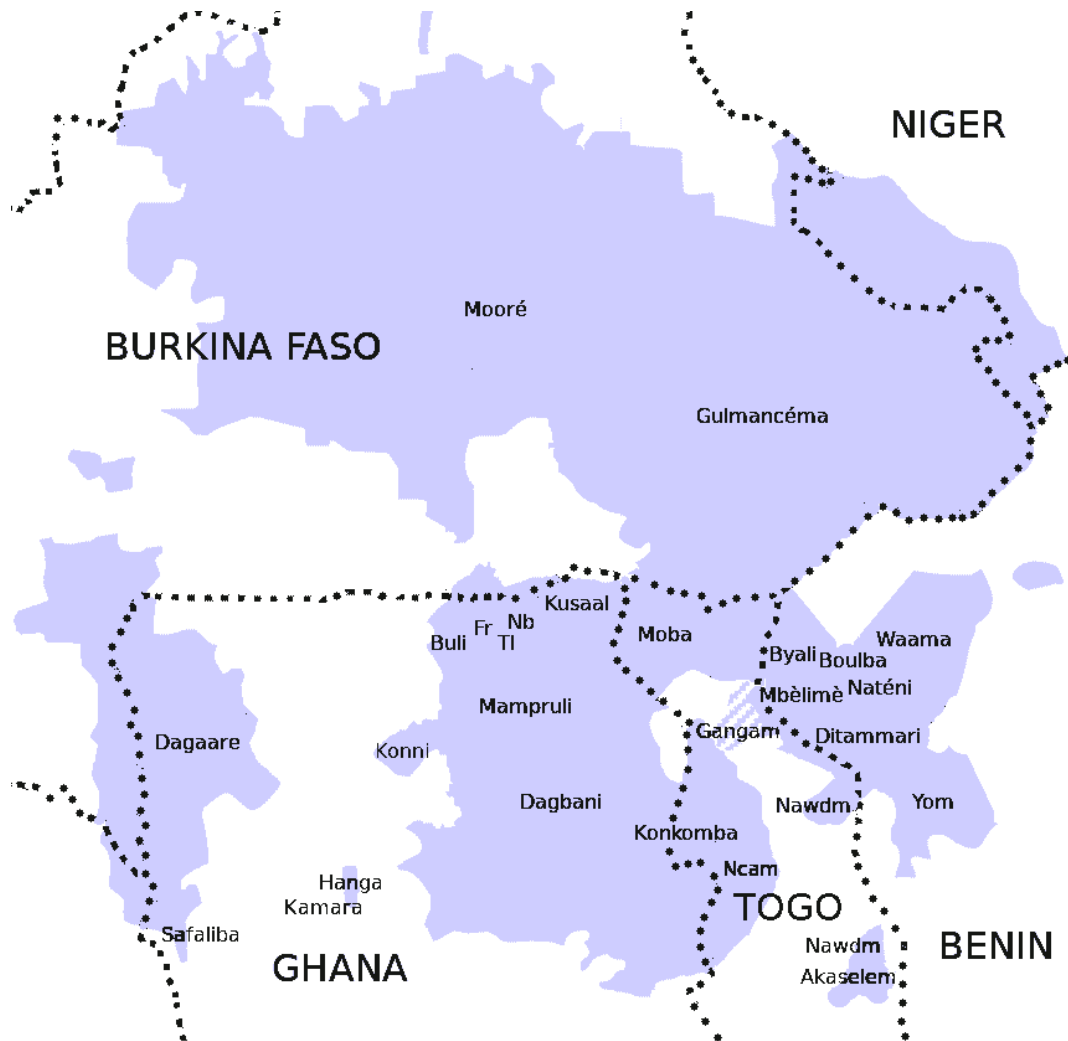


Western Oti-Volta is about as diverse as Romance. Most languages have lost noun-class-based grammatical gender. Verbs inflect with *-e* for pf, *-da/de* for ipf; some languages preserve an imperative *-ma*. There is a small conjugation of ipf-only verbs in *-ya*, expressing stances, relationships and qualities.

Buli is close to Western Oti-Volta lexically. Buli verbs are uninflected, and several noun classes have merged. Yom is also fairly close lexically. Yom/Nawdm verb flexion has parallels with Western Oti-Volta: Yom root-stem verbs form imperatives in *-ma*, and Nawdm has stative forms in *-da* and *-ra* related to the Western Oti-Volta ipfs in *-da* and *-ya*. Nawdm also has traces of the ipf *-u* seen in Eastern Oti-Volta.

Gurma and Eastern Oti-Volta are more distantly related. Gurma verb flexion involves many different suffixes and tone changes, which are only partly predictable. Eastern Oti-Volta is very diverse; Waama may be a separate branch of Oti-Volta.

The Oti-Volta languages



Fr = Farefare, Nb = Nabit, Tl = Talni

Yare speakers live amidst other communities in northern Ghana

1.3 Grammatical sketch

Symbols have IPA values, but double letters are used for long vowels, **e** **ɪ** both represent [ɪ], **o** **ɔ** both [ɔ], **ñ** marks nasalisation and ' glottalisation of adjacent vowels, and **y** **kp** **gb** stand for [j] [k̟p] [g̟b].

The full range of vowels occurs only in roots: elsewhere there is only a three-way contrast **a/ɪ/ɔ** (**a/ɛ/ɔ** before prosodic enclitics, see below.) No consonant clusters occur word-initially or finally except final **mm**. Nominal prefixes often end in **m/n/ŋ**, e.g. **dìndēog** "chameleon"; the only other word-internal clusters are **kk tt pp ŋj** (written **k t p ŋ**) **nn mm ll mn**, with all other **CC** inserting epenthetic **ɪ** or **ɔ**.

The tone system derives from a two-tone terracing type: original H has become mid (M), with a new H arising from HL on a single mora, and a circumflex (X) tone from HLL on a single syllable. Tone sandhi often changes word-initial L to H.

Apocope deletes word-final short vowels in most contexts, including citation; any final consonant clusters then drop the second consonant. The cognate of Mampruli *gbigimni* "lion" thus normally appears as the "short form" (sf) *gbīgīm*. However, when a clause contains a negation, ends a question, or is used as a vocative, the last word preserves its final vowel and appears as a "long form" (lf):

Lì à nē gbīgīm.

3i be FOC lion

"It's a lion."

Lì kā' gbīgīmñē.

3i NG.be lion·NG

"It's not a lion."

The appearance of lfs is here triggered by "prosodic enclitics", which lack any segmental form, but show their presence by this effect on preceding words. The symbol · is written after lfs (separated from the lf, unless the next word is an enclitic.) Whenever · is followed by a space or punctuation mark, this shows that the word which induced the preceding lf has no segmental form of its own, as above.

"Liaison words" also cause a preceding word to appear as a lf, but modified by the loss of all original vowel quality contrasts in final non-root vowels. Not all liaison words are enclitic. The group includes all bound personal pronouns:

Ì p̄ dūgē.

1s NG cook·NG

"I haven't cooked."

Ì dúgī·bá.

1s cook·3p

"I've cooked them."

Ì p̄ dōllá.

1s NG follow·NG

"I don't go along."

Ì dōllī·bá.

1s follow·3p

"I go with them."

Apocope reduces several liaison words of the underlying form CV to C:

Ì p̄ dōllí·f̄.

1s NG follow·2s·NG

"I don't go with you."

Ì dōllī·f.

1s follow·2s

"I go with you."

Before the liaison word **o** "him/her", any lf-final vowel mora becomes **o** [ʊ]; the sf of **o** itself is segmental *zero*, but the vowel change persists:

Ṁ p̄ dōlló·o·

1s NG follow·3a·NG

"I don't go with him/her."

Ṁ dōllō·

1s follow·3a

"I go with him/her."

2p-subject **ya** after imperatives has a zero sf preceded by **ɪ**: **Gòsumī!** "Look ye!"
Two liaison words of the underlying form **n** also often surface as zero:

ṁ zūgū· zàbìd lā zúg

1s head·NZ fight.IPF the on

"because my head hurts" (nominaliser **ṁ**)

Ṁ zūgū· zàbìd.

1s head + fight.IPF

"My head hurts." (catenating **n**)

By deleting segments causing rounding/fronting effects on preceding vowels, apocope creates diphthongs and epenthetic vowel contrasts. Thus lf **vīugó** "owl" has **iu** for **ii** because of the suffix vowel; after apocope, the diphthong of **vīug** contrasts with the vowel of **vīid** "owls." Deletion of intervocalic **g** produces further diphthongs.

All flexion and productive derivation is by suffixing. Flexion is basically fairly simple, but with morphophonemic complications.

Noun flexion involves five different sg/pl suffix pairs (e.g **bōug** "goat", pl **bōus**; **kōk** "chair", pl **kōgūs**; but **nōor** "mouth", pl **nōyá**; **nóbìr** "leg", pl **nōbá**) and two unpaired non-count suffixes. Most unexpected sg/pl pairings can be explained phonologically. The stem is itself a key part of the paradigm, because adjectives and demonstratives regularly compound with preceding head nouns:

kōk	"chair"	+	pìèlìg	"white"	->	kùg-pìèlìg	"white chair"
bōug	"goat"	+	pìèlìg	"white"	->	bù-pìèlìg	"white goat"

Head-final compounds like **bù-kōud** "goat-killer" are also freely created.

Two-aspect verbs use the stem for perfective aspect, adding the suffixes **-da** for imperfective, **-ma** for imperative. Morphophonemic complications appear, e.g. **kō** "kill", ipf **kōud** but **vōl** "swallow", ipf **vōn**. One-aspect verbs only have an ipf; they typically express stances (**dīgī** "lie"), relationships (**mōr** "have") or predicative adjectival senses (**gīm** "be short.")

Gerunds and agent nouns can be regularly derived from almost all verbs: **kōub** "killing", **kōud** "killer"; there are many other common derivational processes.

Noun-class-based gender has been replaced by an animate/inanimate system. The article *lā* follows its noun; possessors precede: *m̄ bōvg* "my goat", *dāy lā bōvg* "the man's goat." Prepositions include *nē* "with", *wōv* "like"; *nē* links NPs as "and." Liaison-enclitic *n* is the most general locative postposition: *bōvsī·n lā* "to the goats." Certain nouns function as postpositions: *téebùl lā zúg* "onto the table" (*zūg* "head.")

Kusaal is SVO; indirect objects precede direct. Particles expressing tense, mood and polarity precede the verb; there is no agreement for person or number.

Tì sá tìsī·f bōvg lā. "We gave you the goat yesterday."
1p TNS give·2s goat the

There are two "be" verbs: *bè* "exist" and *àɛn* "be something"; the negative of both is *kā'(e)*. *Àɛn* is usually followed by the focus particle *nē*, and then becomes *à*:

Lì à nē bōvg. "It's a goat."
3i be FOC goat

If the verb meaning permits and no free words intervene, *nē* after a verb has a *temporal* sense, limiting the reference to "at the particular time in question":

Nīdīb kpīid nē. "People are dying."
person.PL die.IPF FOC

Main and content clauses show a VP tone overlay and altered subject-pronoun tone sandhi. Overlay is absent in the negative or irrealis, after the tense marker *dāa*, and in clauses following *coordinating* *kà*. Narrative joins clause after clause with *kà*, omitting tense marking as well so long as the action is proceeding in sequence:

Ò dà gòs dú'atà. "He looked at the doctor."
3a TNS look doctor

Kà ò gōs dú'atà. "And he looked at the doctor."
and 3a look doctor

When the verb itself has the tone overlay, clause-final perfectives are followed by the particle *yā*, and the imperatives of two-aspect verbs take the flexion *ma*:

Gòsìm dú'atà! "Look at the doctor!"
look.IPF doctor

2 Sound system

2.1 Segments

See §4.2 for the many distributional constraints on consonants and vowels.

Consonant symbols have IPA values (with **kp gb** as digraphs for [k̠p̠] [g̠b̠]) except as noted below. The consonant inventory comprises

k	g	ŋ						h
t	d	n	s	z	l	r	y	
p	b	m	f	v				
kp	gb						w	

Vowel-initial root syllables are optionally realised with an initial glottal stop.

h as a distinct phoneme only appears syllable-initially in loanwords.

k t p (but not **kp**) are aspirated word- or root-initially. Except after prefixes, written word-internal **k t p ŋ** represent *geminate*s, though they are realised single in normal rapid speech; a vowel before **k t p** must be short. Final **g d b** are partly devoiced, but still contrast with **k t p**.

k g can be noticeably backed before back vowels, particularly **ɔ**. They are palatalised before front vowels, for some speakers even becoming palatal stops or affricates, and may represent palatal stops/affricates in loans: **tóklàè** "torch(light)", **sóǵjà** "soldier." Before rounded vowels they are labialised, and do not contrast with **kp gb** (cf **kūm** "death", **kpì** "die", **kpàkūr** "tortoise", Mampruli *kpakpiri*): **kp gb** only appear before unrounded root vowels and in reduplication-prefixes (**kpùkpàùŋ** "arm"), and they represent labialised velars in loans (**bákpàè** "week", Hausa *bakwai*.)

t d n s z l r are usually alveolars, but **s z** are often dental, or even interdental; **l** is never velarised. Before **u**, **z** is sometimes heard as [ʒ].

s is often realised [h] word-internally, and may represent *h* in loanwords: **Àláasìd** "Sunday", Hausa *Lahadi*; **Dàsmáanì** 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

r may be realised as a voiced alveolar or retroflex flap or approximant; after epenthetic vowels it may be retroflex lateral. It does not contrast with **d** word- or root-initially: **d** is the default, replaced by **r** after vowel-final prefixes. Initial **d** may be realised like **r** phrase-internally after vowels, as in **nā'-dâug** "ox" (*na'araug* B.)

Elsewhere **d** and **r** contrast:

èndìg	"unplug"	ēnrīg	"shift along"
mōd	"swell"	mōr	"have"
yàad	"graves"	yāar	"scatter"
zàbìd	"fight" ipf	zàbìr	"fight" ger

After short root vowels **r** either derives from ***dy** or is due to borrowing or analogy (e.g. **kpàr** "lock" has **r** from a defunct 1vb "be locked.")

m n are syllabic when standing alone as non-enclitic words.

y is [j]. Before nasal vowels **y w** are nasalised, and written **ny nw** with no **n̄** after the vowel: **nyē** "see", **nwādīg** "moon."

Vowel symbols have IPA values by default, but **ɪ ʊ** stand for IPA **ɪ ʊ**, and double symbols for long vowels. The full range of vowel contrasts appears only within roots. There are nine basic monophthongs, each occurring short and long:

a	ɛ	ɪ̄a	i	ɪ	ɔ	ɹa	u	ʊ
aa	ɛɛ	iə	ii	ɪɪ	ɔɔ	uə	uu	ʊʊ

ɪ̄a ɹa iə uə are phonemic monophthongs. Initial **ɪ̄** is laxer and longer than **y**: **ɪ̄ā** "seek" contrasts with **yā** "houses." The second mora of **uə** is slightly rounded.

Word-internal **ɪ̄ay ɹay** (**bīāyá** "elder same-sex siblings", **sɹāyá** "roads") are [ɪ̄j] [ɹj].

ɪ̄a ɹa arise only from apocope of final **iə uə** (**kɪ̄à** "cut", **kɹā** "hoe"), shortening of **iə uə** before pl **-ya**, or from **ɛ ɔ** before **k** or underlying **g** (**tɪ̄àk** "change", **bɹàk** "split"); surface **ɛk ɔk** reflect **CV/CVV** root allomorphy (**tēk** "pull") or **ɹakv -> ɔkv** (**bòk** "pit.")

ɪ ʊ u are slightly fronted after alveolars and **y**.

i u are found only in roots, but **ɪ ʊ** are realised [i] [u] word-internally after open root syllables with short **i u**, and in prefixes before root first-mora **i u** (**sìsì'əm** "storm", **sīlīnsīuŋ** "spider", **dùndùuŋ** "cobra", **vùlìnvùuŋl** "mason wasp.")

[ʊ] is written **o** in the 3a pronoun **ò** and before the 3a enclitic: **kīsó·** "hate him."

Before prosodic enclitics **iə uə -> ia ua**, and non-root final **ɛ ɔ** represent [e] [o].

All sequences of dissimilar vowel symbols except **ɪ̄a ɹa iə uə** represent phonemic diphthongs. Non-initial [ɪ] is written **e** except after **ɛ**, [ʊ] as **o** except after **a**, [ī] as **ɛ̄** except after **ɛ u**. The *primary* diphthongs comprise

		ɪ̄a'a	ia		ʊ'a	ua	
aɛ̄	ɛ̄ī			ɔɛ̄	ʊɛ̄		uɪ̄
ae			ie	ɔ'e	ʊ'e	ue	ui
aɹ̄	ɛɹ̄	ɪ̄aɹ̄					ɹɹ̄
av	ɛo		io				iu

All also occur nasal, and if long, glottal; **ɪ̄a'a ʊ'a ɔ'e ʊ'e** only occur as glottal.

Overlong **iaa uaa aee iee uee** appear for **ia ua ae ie ue** before prosodic enclitics §5.3.

The only length contrasts in identical environments are **avŋ/aɹ̄ŋ** and word-final **ae/aɛ̄**.

Word-final **ʊ'a** is realised [ɹ̄a:].

Secondary diphthongs are created by replacement of the final morae of word-final root vowels by [ɪ] before the enclitic §5.4 2pS "you", or by [ʊ] (always written **o**) before the enclitic "him/her." Any vowel mora may precede:

bēi·	"be (pl)!"	bēi·yá	long form
zúo·	"steal him"	zūó·o	long form

Nasalisation is automatic after **m n**, as in e.g. **mèɛd** "build" ipf. Elsewhere it is normally marked by a following **ñ**, but the **ñ** precedes glottalisation marks, **y w** followed by nasal vowels, and the **o·** rounded by a following 3a pronoun:

gēñ	"get tired"	tēɛñs	"lands"
bjāuñk	"shoulder"	gēñ'	"get angry"
gēñ'ɛd	"get angry" ipf	nyñ	"tooth"
àño·	"be him/her"		

Except after **nw ny**, all short nasal vowels have become oral before **m n ŋ**.

Glottalisation is realised as creakiness or as a glottal approximant after the first mora. It is marked by ' following the first/only vowel mora:

dà'a	"market"	dà'	"buy"
kpi'a	"neighbour"	kpi'à'	"whittle"
pū'ab	"women"	pū'ā'	"woman"

Mà'àa "only" has a unique overlong monophthong.

Except in questions, all word-final short vowels and short diphthongs are glottalised before pause: e.g. **gēñ** "tire" falls together with **gēñ'** "anger."

All short glottal vowels which are not the result of apocope precede **ŋ** or **m** in closed syllables: **lā'ŋ** "set alight", **sù'ŋā** "well", **nī'm** "meat", **sù'm** "goodness" (but always **sùŋ** "good.") Only some speakers have glottal vowels here, and the cognates in Toende Kusaal and Farefare lack glottalisation.

Yām "sense" (Farefare *yem*, Nawdm *rarm*) and **yā'am** "gall bladder" (Farefare *ya'am*, Nawdm *rahm*) have fallen together as **yām/yā'am**.

2.2 Syllables and tones

Syllables have the form (C)V(V)(C); except after prefixes, word-internal **k t p ŋ** represent CC. A (C)VVC syllable is superheavy. A word-internal non-root CV syllable is superlight if preceded by a CV syllable which is *not* superlight, working left to right: **dī'əsídɪbà** "receivers", **sɔ̀k̄ɪdɪbā** "believers", **sīgɪsídɪbà** "lowerers", **mòɫfù** "gazelle." (C)VVV sequences are disyllabic, dividing after the first mora: **nū-áa** "hen."

Stress falls on the first/only vowel mora of the roots of free words (*i/u* are not moraic.) Within phrases, any syllable which is not superheavy loses stress before an immediately following stressed syllable, working right to left.

With the syllable as tone-bearing unit, there are four tones (strictly, tonemes): high (H), mid (M), low (L) and circumflex (X), as in **gél** "egg", **kōk** "chair", **kùk** "ghost", **nū'ug** "hand" respectively. 3-mora vowel sequences carry two tones: **nūáa** "hen." Only superheavy syllables may carry X, which must elsewhere be replaced by H: short form **nū'ug** "hand", long form **nú'ugù**. Enclitics reduced to a single consonant close the preceding syllable: **kà bà kîə·m** "and they cut me."

Superlight syllables and catenating **n** are toneless; the tone of the preceding syllable extends over them. In a few words, superlight syllables with initial **r** carry H.

	Bà k̄a' dī'əsídɪbā·	"They are not receivers."
	Lì k̄a' móɫfō·	"It's not a gazelle."
vs	Ò p̄ bási·fō·	"He hasn't left you."
	Kà yà p̄ sɔ̀k̄ɪdā·	"But you did not agree." Lk 13:34
	Bà k̄a' Gūrísē·	"They are not Farefare people."

Kusaal M corresponds to H of other Western Oti-Volta languages. Kusaal H and X are secondary: without intervening pause, ML always becomes HL or MX/MH by tone sandhi; all other instances of H precede former L lost by diachronic changes.

M is always realised as a level tone; L and H are level except before pause, where they are realised as falling tones beginning at their usual pitch. X is realised as a falling tone from H to L pitch from first to second mora, differing from H on a superheavy syllable before pause, where the pitch fall occurs on the second mora: contrast **mān sām** "my father", **mān sām** "my guests."

In certain contexts H and X are realised with a preceding downstep, lowering the initial pitch to the level of M. Without an intervening pause,

HH	-> H!H	always	
HX	-> H!X	always	
MH	-> M!H	if the next syllable is	superheavy
		or	precedes pause and is not L

Downstep between H and H/X:

M̄ gós !náaf lā kpēlá.

"I looked at the cow there."

M̄ gós !nú'ug lā kpēlá.

"I looked at the hand there."

but Kà m̄ gós náaf lā kpēlá.

"And I looked at the cow there."

Kà m̄ gós nú'ug lā kpēlá.

"And I looked at the hand there."

MH -> M!H when the next syllable is superheavy:

Lì à nē !púkòònr̄ lā.

"It's the widow."

Mān !bú-bē'og k̄ā'ē.

"My bad goat isn't there."

Mān !bú-pìə̀l k̄ā'ē.

"My white goat isn't there."

Bīig lā !sá mèəd yīr lā.

"The child was building the house."

but Lì k̄ā' púkòònr̄ē̄.

"It's not a widow."

Mān bú-wòk k̄ā'ē.

"My tall goat isn't there."

Mān bú-sùṅ k̄ā'ē.

"My good goat isn't there."

Bīig lā sá mè yīr lā.

"The child built the house."

MH -> M!H when the next syllable is prepausal and does not carry L:

Kà m̄ gós !náaf lā.

"And I looked at the cow."

Yū!gúm kā'ē.

"There's no camel."

Bà k̄ā' !mól̄l̄.

"They aren't gazelles."

Lì k̄ā' bī-!pún̄ā̄.

"It's not a girl."

Ò p̄ yād̄!gíd̄ā̄.

"He isn't scattering."

but Kà m̄ gós náaf lā kpēlá.

"And I looked at the cow there."

Yūgúm lā k̄ā'ē.

"The camel's not there."

Lì k̄ā' mól̄f̄.

"It's not a gazelle."

Bà à nē mól̄l̄.

"They are gazelles."

Lì k̄ā' bī-pún̄ā̄?

"Isn't it a girl?"

Às'òní yād̄gíd̄ā̄?

"Who is scattering?"

and Lì à nē d̄òṅ lā.

"It's the hut." (MX, not MH)

2.3 Orthography

The orthography of texts differs somewhat from that used in this grammar. Tone is unmarked.

Intervocalic *k t p* are sometimes doubled; older texts often write *ll mm nn* single. G2 uses *ng ng nk* for **ŋ ŋg ŋk**. Writing of final nasals in right-bound words often shows assimilation to following consonants: *bvmmɔr bōn-mór* "rich person." Final *-ya* in loanwords is written *-ia*: *dunia dūnyā* "world."

Before 2016, *e o* were used for **ɛ ɔ**, *i* for **i/ɪ**, *u* for **u/ʊ**; *e o* were also sporadically used for **ɪ ʊ** in roots. B3 has the same basic conventions as this grammar, but uses *i* for both **i** and **ɪ**: *biig bīig* "child", *tiig tūig* "tree."

B3 has *ye* "that", *teŋ* "land", *keŋ ken* "go" for **yē tēŋ kēŋ kēn**, and *on oŋa* for **ōn/ón/òn òŋā**, reflecting differing dialect developments of ***ɨ *ũ**. Word-final **ɪ** after **m n** is usually written **ɛ** in B3: so always in *onɛ kanɛ linɛ banɛ anɔ'ɔnɛ*.

B3 sometimes has *e* for superlight-syllable vowels: *bɛdegv bèdugv* "a lot", *sanrega sārɣá* "prison."

ie uo are used for both **iə uə** and **ie uo**.

B3 has *-uoe -voe* for **-ue -ve**: *duoe dūe* "raise, rise", *sv'oe sū'e* "own."

io [iʊ] is written *ieu* in B2/3: *kpi'eueŋ kpī'oŋ* "strong."

e i u are used for **ɛ ɪ ʊ**. The contrast **ae/aɛ** is marked by using *aae/aaɛ* for **ae**, as in *paae pāe* "reach", but **av** and **au** alike are written *au/av*. Glottalisation marking distinguishes e.g. *kpi'a' kpjā'* "whittle" from *kpi'a' kpì'a* "neighbour", but **ua'/ʊ'a** are both written *o'a* before 2016, *u'a* in B3: *pu'a puā'* "woman", *pu'ab pū'ab* "women." Word-final **ʊ'a** is written *u'aa*, reflecting its realisation as [ʊɑ:].

Long forms in *-ya* after a back vowel are written *-eya/-iya*: *tɔiya tōyá* "be bitter."

B3 has *iey uoy* for **ɪay ʊay**: *bieya bjāyá* "elder same-sex siblings", *suoya sūyá* "roads." Older texts use *uey*: *sueya*.

Except with *an àn* "be" and *ka' kā'* "not be", verb-final monophthongisation §5.1 is usually ignored: *faaen ti fāan·tí* "saved us."

n is used for **ñ**: *tɛens tēñs* "lands." Formerly, *nn* was used for **ñ** when word-final without even a following glottalisation mark, but B3 uses an ambiguous single *n*: *gaan gāan* "jackalberry", *daan dāan* "owner." Before 2016, **àn** "be" was written *a*. **Ñyāe** "brightly" is written *nyain*.

All glottal vowels are written long word-internally and in right-bound words: *pa'a pà'* "earlier today", *kpɛ'ɛŋ kpè'ŋ* "strengthen."

Many bound words §4.1 are written as part of adjacent words.

Cifs §6.1 are written solid with following words, unless they happen to resemble sgs: *bvkaŋa* *bù-kàŋā'* "this goat" but *dau kaŋa* *dàù-kàŋā'* "this man."

B3 orthography writes pronouns separately when they have their own vowels, as with *fv dɔlli ti* *fù dól̄lī-tí* "you come with us", but pronouns of the form C are joined to the preceding word. Previously, *m* "me" was written separately, and the mora before *f* "you" was separated from the verb and joined to the pronoun as *uf*:

<i>Fv dolli m.</i>	<i>Fù dól̄lī·m.</i>	"You come with me." (B3 <i>dollim</i>)
<i>M dol uf.</i>	<i>M̄ dól̄lī·f.</i>	"I go with you." (B3 <i>dollif</i>)
<i>M gban'e uf.</i>	<i>M̄ gbân'a·f.</i>	"I've seized you." (B3 <i>gban'af</i>)

Apocope §3 deletes the pronoun *o* "him/her" completely after the final vowel mora of the preceding word is changed to *o* [ʊ] §5.4; this *o* is taken for the pronoun itself and written separately:

<i>Fv dɔl o.</i>	<i>Fù dól̄lō·.</i>	"You go with her."
<i>Fv pv dɔl oo.</i>	<i>Fù p̄ dól̄lō·o·.</i>	"You don't go with her."
<i>Fv nyɛ o.</i>	<i>Fù ñyéó·.</i>	"You've seen her."
<i>Fv pv nyɛ oo.</i>	<i>Fù p̄ ñyéó·o·.</i>	"You've not seen her."

Locative *n*, discontinuous-past *n* and the 2pS pronoun are always written solid with the preceding word e.g. *ku'omin* *kù'əmī·n* "in water", *ku'ominɛ* *kù'əmī·né·.*

Standard orthography writes focus-*nē* solid after *à* "be", and usually after other verbs; *nē* "with" is written solid after *wēn* "be like" (as *nwɛnɛ* in B3.)

<i>Ba anɛ zɔn.</i>	<i>Bà à nē zōn.</i>	"They are fools." Jer 5:4
<i>Ba nwɛnɛ bɔ?</i>	<i>Bà wèn nē bó·?</i>	"What are they like?" Lk 7:31

M/c-pf *yā* is written solid with the preceding verb:

<i>o gaadya.</i>	<i>ò gàad yā.</i>	"he has gone." 2 Sm 3:24
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Older texts write *-eya* after consonants: *gaadeya* etc.

Personaliser *à* §9.2 is written solid with the following word.

A word-final syllable before a prosodic enclitic §5.3 is often mistaken for a separate particle in older materials, and occasionally even in B3:

<i>Amaa fv anɛ ninsaal ka ka' win nɛ.</i>	"But you are a human being, not a god."
<i>Àmáa fù á nē nīn-sâal kà kâ' wīnné·.</i>	Ez 28:2

but 2s be FOC human and NG.be god·NG

3 Apocope

Every Kusaal word which can stand clause-finally has two surface forms, which differ in nearly all cases, the long form (lf) and the short form (sf.)

For example, "child" usually appears as sf **bīig**, but at the end of clauses with negative VPs, questions (content or polar), or vocatives, it appears as the lf **bīigā**:

Ò dāa ñyē bīig.

3a TNS see child

"She saw a child."

bīig lā nū'ug

child the hand

"the child's hand"

Ò dāa pō ñyē bīigā.

3a TNS NG see child.NG

"He/she did not see a child."

Ànó'onì · dāa ñyē bīigà?

who + TNS see child·CQ

"Who saw a child?"

Ì bīigā!

1s child·VOC

"My child!"

Sfs will be regarded as derived from lfs by a synchronic rule of apocope, though most lfs are predictable given the sfs and flexional behaviour of lexemes, and some have been remodelled by analogy. Apocope reflects several distinct historical processes; in Toende Kusaal, pfs only undergo apocope after the devoicing of final stops: *ya'ap* "potter" but *ya'ab* "mould pots."

The rule for apocope is:

Final long vowels are shortened and final short vowels are deleted

Final diphthongs shorten by one mora:

ia -> ja ua -> ũa ja'a -> ja' v'a -> ũa'

ae -> aɛ av -> aũ ui -> uĩ

Vaa -> Va Vee -> Ve Vvv -> Vv

Nasal and/or glottal diphthongs behave in the same way

Then: final consonant clusters drop the second consonant

(kk tt pp ŋŋ become k t p ŋ but are written single in any case)

final y becomes zero after ɿ/e/i and ɛ/i otherwise

Examples:

Lì à nē dūk.

3i be FOC pot

"It's a cooking pot."

Dūk lā bódìg yā.

pot the get.lost m/c

"The pot has got lost."

Lì kā' dūkó·.

3i NG.be pot·NG

"It's not a pot."

Lì à nē dūkóó·?

3i be FOC pot·PQ

"Is it a pot?"

Lì à nē kōk.

"It's a chair."

Lì kā' kōkā·.

"It's not a chair."

Lì à nē gbīgīm.

"It's a lion."

Lì kā' gbīgīmnē·.

"It's not a lion."

Lì à nē yáarìm.

"It's salt."

Lì kā' yáarimm·.

"It's not salt."

Lì à nē dāu.

"It's a man."

Lì kā' dāu·.

"It's not a man."

Bà à nē gbīgīmā.

"They're lions."

Bà kā' gbīgīmāa·.

"They're not lions."

Kà ò sjàk.

and 3a agree

"And he agreed."

Ò p̄ sjàkē·.

3a NG agree·NG

"He hasn't agreed."

Kà ò dīgī.

"And she's lying down."

Ò p̄ dīgīyá·.

"She isn't lying down."

Kà ò vōḡ.

"And she's alive."

Ò p̄ vōyá·.

"She's not alive."

Kà ò kjà.

"And she cut."

Ò p̄ kía·.

"She hasn't cut."

Kà ò pāe.

"And he arrived."

Ò p̄ pāée·.

"He hasn't arrived."

The appearance of clause-final lfs is triggered by following prosodic enclitics, which lack segmental form themselves §5.3; somewhat modified, lfs also appear before liaison words §5.4. Citation forms will reflect lfs as seen before prosodic enclitics, but without certain tonal alterations and the change of final *mɛ* -> *mm*.

The default lf ending corresponding to sfs ending in a consonant is *ɛ*, as in

Lì pu nar ye fu di fu ba'abiig po'a Herodiase.

Lì p̄ nār yé fù dí fù bā'-bīig p̄á' Herodiasɛ·.

3i NG must that 2s take 2s father-child wife Herodias·NG

"It's not right for you to marry your brother's wife Herodias." Mt 14:4 B2

Sfs ending in long monophthongs have segmentally identical lfs. Most other sfs ending in vowels have lfs obtainable by lengthening the final vowel or diphthong; sfs in final *ɪa' u'a'* have lfs in *ɪa'a u'a* by default. However, most 1vbs with vowel-final sfs have lfs in *-ya*; for D (not W) so do *sōɛɲ* "witch" and *sāɛɲ* "blacksmith."

All right-bound words (including cifs §6.1) are regarded as sfs. Except where sfs and lfs are listed separately, all other single words or compounds will be cited henceforward as sfs (with minor differences in tone marking) followed by subscripts (and a possible tone mark) showing how to arrive at the corresponding lfs.

When the lf simply prolongs a sf final vowel sequence or leaves a long monophthong unchanged, no subscript is used:

<i>gbīgumā</i>	lf	<i>gbīgumāa</i>	"lions"
<i>mòlì</i>		<i>mòlì</i>	"gazelles"
<i>dāu</i>		<i>dāu</i>	"man"
<i>pāe'</i>		<i>pāée</i>	"reach"
<i>kūā</i>		<i>kūa</i>	"hoe"
<i>dīā'</i>		<i>dīā'a</i>	"get dirty"
<i>puā'</i>		<i>pū'a</i>	"woman"
<i>dà'a</i>		<i>dà'a</i>	"market"

Otherwise, the material deleted by apocope is written as a subscript, but with lf-final *-ɛ* implied as the default:

<i>bīg_a</i>	lf	<i>bīgā</i>	"child"
<i>dūk_ɔ'</i>		<i>dūkó</i>	"pot"
<i>dīg_{ya}'</i>		<i>dīg_{yá}</i>	"be lying down"
<i>sjàk</i>		<i>sjàkè</i>	"agree"
<i>yàarìm</i>		<i>yàarìmè</i>	"salt"
<i>gbīgīm_n</i>		<i>gbīgīm_{nē}</i>	"lion"

Words with lfs in *-ya* where sf-final *y* becomes *ɛ* are written with *ya*:

<i>vō_{ɛya}'</i>	lf	<i>vōyá</i>	"live"
<i>sāɛ_{ɲya}</i>		<i>sā_{ɲyā}</i>	"smith"

A few cases must be written out separately, as with *pāmm* lf *pāmné* "a lot", and the very few words with lfs in glottal *i'a u'a*: *kpià'* lf *kpi'a* "whittle."

Lf-final syllables carry L, unless the last sf tone is M, in which case the last lf syllable carries either M or H. M is taken as the default, with a following ´ mark signifying that H is to be imposed instead:

	kōk _a	lf	kōkā	"chair"
	sīa		sīāa	"waist"
	dāu		dāv	"man"
but	dōk _o ´		dōkó	"pot"
	vīid´		vīidé	"owls"
	nūa´		nūāa	"hen"
	tāuñ´		tāvñ	"opposite-sex sibling"

The sf tone is written when X becomes H on a syllable which is open in the lf:

nû'ug _o	lf	nú'ugò	sf	nû'ug	"hand"
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However, tone marks are omitted on final syllables corresponding to toneless superlight syllables in the lf; the sf tones are M after M tone, L after L/H:

dīg _ɪ ya´	lf	dīg _ɪ yá	sf	dīgī	"be lying down"
kūg _ɜ r´		kūg _ɜ ré		kūg _ɜ r	"stone"
dìg _ɪ r		dìg _ɪ rè		dìg _ɪ r	"dwarf"
nób _ɪ r		nób _ɪ rè		nób _ɪ r	"foot"

Apocope-blocking is a feature of some nouns, of many quantifiers, ideophones and particles, of downtoned adjectives, and of all words with sfs of the form CV except pfs and cifs. The sf of apocope-blocked words does not undergo apocope. Final L is changed to M, except on long vowels and monosyllables; final ε ɔ become ɪ ʊ, but final mε becomes mm. Forms ending in short vowels create lfs by prolonging the vowel, changing M to H except in tp A words; the remainder add -nè (né after M.)

būudī	lf	būudī	"tribe"
bèdɔgū´		bèdɔgú	"a lot"
yā´		yāa	"houses"
pāmm		pāmné	"a lot"
mà'àa		mà'anè	"only"
gòllīmm		gòllīmnè	"only"
nyāe		nyāenè	"brightly"
kòtàa		kòtàanè	"at all"

4 Word structure

The open word classes are verbs, nouns and adjectives; closed classes are pronouns, quantifiers, ideophones and particles. Nouns and adjectives are grouped together as nominals. Particular noun and pronoun subtypes are used adverbially. Ideophones may be adjective intensifiers, expressive adjuncts, or predicatives.

Many quantifiers and particles resemble nominals in form, often with apocope-blocking. Bound pronouns and many particles resemble full-word affixes segmentally. Ideophones often deviate from normal word structure and may even violate the usual phonological constraints, e.g. *tólùlù*, intensifier for "tall", *fáss*, intensifier for "white."

4.1 Bound and free words

Many bound forms are best regarded as words. Bound words need not be dependent: personal pronouns always head NPs, and compound-initial forms (cifs) are heads before adjectives and demonstratives: *t̀̀-kàṅā́* "this tree." (Conversely, free forms may appear within compounds §9.1.) In this grammar, cifs are hyphenated to the next word: thus *z̀̀m-gbâṅ'ad_a* "fisher", *b̀̀-pièl-kàṅā́* "this white goat."

The term clitic will be limited to the only two groups of bound words which are phonologically distinctive: prosodic enclitics §5.3 and liaison enclitics §5.4. All fixed-L morphemes §5.2 are right-bound, but this group includes both words and prefixes.

In phrases and sentences, the symbol · will be written at the beginning of any word which has caused the preceding word to appear as a lf. If this is an enclitic, it is written solid with the preceding word, joined by the · mark; otherwise, a space precedes the · symbol. When · is *followed* by a space or punctuation mark, it signifies that the next word lacks any segmental form: it is either a prosodic enclitic or a liaison word with a segmentally-zero sf, such as *o* "her" in *f̀̀ òyéo·* "you've seen her."

4.2 Segmental structure

Open-class words are based on (C)V(V)(C) roots, where initial C may not be *ŋ r* or *h*, V(V) is any monophthong, and any final C must be *b d g l m n s* or *r*. Stems add up to three derivational suffixes *b d g l m n* or *s*; only *d l m* may follow other suffixes. All full words end with a flexion (C)V(V), where C is *b d g l m n s r y* or *f* and V(V) is *a ε ɔ aa u* or *vu*. Nominal stems may have a prefix (C)V(N) CVsN or CVIN, where C may not be *ŋ r h* or *y*, V is *a u* or *v*, and N is a nasal homorganic with the following root-initial C.

Morphophonemic rules, followed by apocope, create diphthongs and leave the only word-internal CC clusters as *nn mm ll mn* and geminate *k t p ŋ*, along with NC after prefixes. All others insert an epenthetic vowel: *ɪ* by default, but *v* before *gɔ/ŋɔ* or after a short rounded root V + *g* (e.g. *ỳ̀g̀̀m_n* "camel.")

4.2.1 Root allomorphy

Some roots alternate **CV/CVV**. Those with glottal vowels are underlyingly **CVg** §4.2.2; the rest were historically **CV** or **CVy**. After **CV** allomorphs, **g d b -> k t p**.

CV appears before flexions beginning with consonants other than **g**:

dāp _a	"men"	dāv _g	"male"
dòt	"huts"	dò _g	"hut"
lìt _a	"fall" ipf	liig _a	"fall" ger
bīl _a	"little"	bīig _a	"child"
līm _a	"fall" imp		
Ñwād-dár	"Venus" ("male star")		
tō _ɛ ya	"be bitter"	tō _g	"bitter"

CVV is often carried over from sg to pl: always **bīis** "children", **dāad** "male" pl, sometimes **dò_{od}** "huts." Most original **CV(y)**-stem 2vbs have been regularised.

Exceptional forms are **zūg_o'** "head" (Farefare *zuugo*), and **pùkò_{nr}** "widow", **dàkò_{nr}** "bachelor", which were originally **a|ba** class (cf Toende *pòkòp* "widows.")

Original **CVy** roots show **CVV** before **-bV**:

sō _ɛ ñya	"witch"	sō _ɛ ñb _a	"witches"
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Gerunds in sg **b_o** always show **CVV**, but a few examples of **CV** occur with gerunds in sg **re**, e.g. **wìd-lōr'** "place for tethering horses."

CV appears before derivational suffixes only in **yīs/yīis'** "make exit" (**yī** "exit") and a few verbs which drop **g** or **s** in the ipf: **wìk** "draw water" (ipf **wìid_a**); **tēk'/tē_ɛg'** "pull" (ipf **tē_ɛd_a'/tēk'_d**); **gōs** "look" (ipf **gōt_a'**); **tìs** "give" (ipf **tìt_a**.)

Some original **CVy** roots become **CVd** before derivational **g**; otherwise, root-final **o v** become glottal before derivational **g s**:

lō	"tie" (Mooré <i>loe</i>)	lōd _{ig} '	"untie"
pō	"divide" (Mooré <i>pvi</i>)	pōd _{ig} '	"share out"
kò	"break"	kò'os	"break several times"
kò _{ol} ú _g	"broken"	kò'og	"break" tr
pò _{od} _a	"be small"	pò'og	"diminish"
vōr'	"alive"	vō'ug'	"revive"

Before the noun pl suffix *aa*, CV(V)-stems with modal vowels become CVy and CV'V-stems become CVd; stems in *ag ìag uag* often show analogical forms with *d*.

<i>gānr'</i>	"jackalberry fruit"	pl	<i>gānyá</i>
<i>bàlàar</i>	"stick, club"		<i>bàlàyà</i>
<i>kùkōr'</i>	"voice"		<i>kùkōyá</i>
<i>nōor'</i>	"mouth"		<i>nōyá</i>
<i>bīer'</i>	"elder same-sex sib"		<i>bīāyá</i>
<i>zūer</i>	"hill"		<i>zūāyā</i>
<i>tītā'ar</i>	"big"		<i>tītādā</i>
<i>pòñ'or</i>	"cripple"		<i>pòñdà</i>
<i>yū'ur'</i>	"name"		<i>yūdā</i>
<i>yū'er</i>	"penis"		<i>yūādā</i>
<i>mù'ar</i>	"lake"		<i>mù'a(dà)</i>

Some roots alternate CVC/CVVC. Alternation appears in flexion in a few nouns. CVC is required before all derivational suffixes except noun-deriving *l*.

<i>náaf_o</i>	"cow"	<i>nā'-</i>	<i>cif</i>
<i>wìəf_o</i>	"horse"	<i>wìdì</i>	pl
<i>zìíη_a</i>	"fish"	<i>zìmí</i>	pl
<i>yùum_n</i>	"year"	<i>yùmà</i>	pl
<i>kāal'</i>	"count"	<i>kāl'</i>	"number"
<i>tūmā</i>	"work" (noun)	<i>tùm</i>	"work" (verb)
<i>tūlúg_o</i>	"hot"	<i>tūl_{ia}'</i>	"be hot"
<i>màal</i>	"sacrifice" (verb)	<i>mālumā</i>	"sacrifices" (noun)
<i>lìəb</i>	"become"	<i>lèbɨg</i>	"turn"
<i>kpī'or_o</i>	"strong"	<i>kpè'η</i>	"strengthen"
<i>dēēη_a</i>	"first"	<i>dèη</i>	"go first"
<i>tūlúg_o</i>	"hot"	<i>tūlɨg'</i>	"heat"
<i>yùul</i>	"swing" intr	<i>yùlɨg</i>	"swing" tr

4.2.2 Morphophonemic rules

Four sets of rules apply in order before apocope.

Set 1: consonant deletion and vowel fusion.

Flexions of the form **V** are completely assimilated to preceding root vowels, creating 2-mora long vowels: *kpi* "die" (lf *kpi*) **kpiie*.

Single **g** is deleted after **a ia ua**, producing **a'a ia'a u'a**; any following vowel is absorbed. Nasal vowels behave identically.

<i>pū'ab_a</i>	* <i>pūagba</i>	"women"	<i>pūā' sg</i>	* <i>pūaga</i>
<i>zà'as</i>	* <i>zagse</i>	"compounds"	<i>zàk_a sg</i>	* <i>zagga</i>
<i>lā'ad</i>	* <i>lagde</i>	"goods"	<i>lāuk_o sg</i>	* <i>laggo</i>
<i>pìàn'ad</i>	* <i>pìāgde</i>	"words"	<i>pìàunk_o sg</i>	* <i>pìāggo</i>
<i>pū'as</i>	* <i>pūagse</i>	"females"	<i>pūāk_a sg</i>	* <i>pūagga</i>
<i>bù'ad</i>	* <i>būagde</i>	"pits"	<i>bùk_o sg</i>	* <i>būaggo</i>

Except before **o**, **g** is deleted after **aa iə uə**. Glottal and/or nasal vowels behave identically. Here, when a vowel follows, fusion creates overlong diphthongs:

<i>aaga -> aaa</i>	<i>iəga -> iaa</i>	<i>uəga -> uaa</i>	
<i>aage -> aee</i>	<i>iəge -> iee</i>	<i>uəge -> uee</i>	
<i>bāa</i>	* <i>baaga</i>	"dog"	<i>bāas pl</i>
<i>sīa</i>	* <i>siəga</i>	"waist"	<i>sīəs pl</i>
<i>sàbùa</i>	* <i>sabuəga</i>	"lover"	<i>sàbùəs pl</i>
<i>pāe'</i>	* <i>paage</i>	"reach"	<i>páar ger</i> * <i>paage</i>
<i>kpi'e</i>	* <i>kpi'əge</i>	"approach"	<i>kpi'ər ger</i> * <i>kpi'əge</i>
<i>dūe'</i>	* <i>duəge</i>	"raise, rise"	<i>dúər ger</i> * <i>duəge</i>

Set 2: *ĩə ũə -> ĩε ão* (and likewise with glottal vowels.)

<i>zèn'εs</i>	"red" pl	<i>zìn'a sg</i>
<i>dòõns</i>	"dawadawas"	<i>dùàn sg</i>
<i>Mòol</i>	"Mooré"	<i>Mùa</i> "Mossi person"
<i>sõñ'õd_a'</i>	"outdoer"	<i>sũñ'e'</i> "improve"
<i>sõñ</i>	"rub"	<i>sũeñ'</i> "anoint"

Fusion-verb ipfs and gerunds preserve *ĩə ũə* by analogy with verbs with oral vowels: *nìe* "appear" ger *nìər*; *pũñ'e'* "rot" ger *pũñ'ər*.

Set 3: consonant assimilation and vowel epenthesis.

Except after prefixes, **CC** within a word assimilates to **k p t ŋ mm nn ll mn r s f** or inserts epenthetic **ɪ**. This table shows the outcomes; blanks represent epenthesis, and dashes mark unattested pairs.

	-g	-d	-b	-m	-n	-r	-s	-l	-f	-y
g-	k								-	
d-		t			-			-	f	r
b-			p	mm					-	
m-	ŋ	mn	mm	mm	-	mn		nn	-	mm
n-	ŋ	nn	mm		-	nn	:ñs	nn	f	nn
r-					-	r		t		-
s-								-	-	s
l-		nn				ll		ll		ll

e.g.	gg -> k	g̀ik _a	"dumb"	g̀igɪs pl	
	mg -> ŋ	b̀uŋ _a	"donkey"	b̀umɪs pl	
		cf k̀olɪg _a	"river"	k̀olɪs pl	
	dd -> t	b̀ut _a	"plant" ipf	b̀ud pf	
	ld -> nn	k̀un _{na} '	"go home" ipf	k̀ul pf	
		cf d̀ugud _a '	"cook" ipf	d̀ug pf	
	bb -> p	s̀op _o '	"writing" ger	s̀ob pf	
	mb -> mm	k̀im _{mo}	"shepherding" ger	k̀im pf	
		cf p̀odɪb _o	"name" ger	p̀ud pf	
	mr -> mn	d̀um _n	"knee"	d̀umā pl	
	nr -> nn	tān _n	"earth"	tānā pl	
	lr -> ll	g̀el _l	"egg"	g̀elā pl	
		cf d̀igr	"dwarf"	d̀igā pl	
	rl -> t	Bāt'	"Bisa language"	Bārs'	"Bisa people"
		cf K̀ūsāal	"Kusaal"	K̀ūsāas	"Kusaasi"
	df -> f	ẁiəf _o	"horse"	ẁidɪ pl	
	nf -> f	p̀iuf _o	"genet"	p̀iuní pl	
		cf m̀olɪf _o	"gazelle"	m̀olɪ pl	

ns -> **s** with nasalisation and lengthening of preceding root vowels:

sg	tēŋ _a	pl	tēɛ̃ŋs *tense	"land"
	kùlìŋ _a		kùlɪs *kulɪnsɛ	"door"

ms often becomes **ns** in flexion, and is then subject to assimilation. Most root-stems block this change for clarity, but elsewhere free variation is usual.

mn has largely become **mm**. B1/2 has a few ipfs in *mn*: *daamne ba* Lk 6:18 B1 *dàamnī·bá* "trouble them", *wum na* Mt 13:15 B2 *wòmñā* "hear." Some speakers keep **mn** in noun lfs (*gbīgīmnē* S "lion", *gbīgīmmē* W) but word-internal **mn** appears only in agent nouns: *tùm-tòmñīb_a* "servants", but *būn-tómmìr* "useful thing" pl *-tòmñā* S.

bm -> **mm** after short root vowels only.

In ipfs and gerunds of 3-mora stems, **md** -> **mm** and **mg** -> **ŋ** are optional:

ipf	wòm _{ma}	ger	wòm _{mɔ}	"hear (wòm)"
	tóom _{ma} /tōomíd _a		tóoŋ _ɔ /tōomúg _ɔ	"depart (tōom´)"
	kàrìm _{ma} /kàrùmíd _a		kàròŋ _ɔ /kàrùmòg _ɔ	"read (kàrìm)"

W and D avoid ambiguous forms, with optionally assimilated ipfs only as lfs or before focus-*nē´*. B3 sometimes even has ipfs like *wumid* Phil 1:30 for clarity.

In ipfs, **nd** -> **nn** only after short root vowels; in gerunds, **nC** never assimilates.

ipf	bùn _{na}	ger	būn _ɔ	"reap (bùn)"
	dìgùnìd _a		dìgùnòg _ɔ	"lie down (dìgùn)"
	gò'ònìd _a		gò'ònòg _ɔ	"extend neck (gò'òn)"

Derivation precedes flexion in cluster formation. Stem-final clusters assimilate only with **mmm** -> **mm** and **llr** -> **ll**: *dàm* "shake", imp *dàm_{ma}*, but ipf *dàmmìd_a*, ger *dàmmòg_ɔ*; *kùg-dēl_l´* "chair for leaning", pl *-dēllá*; but *kōt´* "slaughter", ipf *kōtíd_a*.

Derivational **n** represents earlier **nn**: *vàbun* "lie prone", Mooré *vabende*; *pībūn_n* pl *pībunā* "covering", Mooré *pibindga* "lid."

Set 4: regressive vowel assimilation.

Before word-internal **y**, long vowels change second-mora **u** to **i**, and all other back second morae to **e** [ɪ]:

sōñ'e _{ya} ´	"be better than"	sōñ'òd _a ´	"outdoer"
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Rounding takes place before **gɔ/kɔ/ŋɔ**. Epenthetic **ɪ** becomes **ʊ**.

Most short unrounded root vowels become **Vɥ**, but **ɥa** -> **ɔ**, and **i** is unaffected.

Second morae of unrounded long vowels are rounded, lax morae becoming [ʊ] and tense [u]; **iəgɔ** -> **ɛvɔgɔ** and **uəgɔ** -> **ɔɔgɔ**, with remodelling of the pl vowels on the sg.

wābugɔ́	"elephant"	pl	wābɪd́
mālōŋɔ	"sacrifice"		mālɪmā
gbàɥŋɔ	"book"		gbàná
lāɥkɔ	"goods item"		lā'ad
bɪāɥŋkɔ	"shoulder"		bɪāŋ'ad
yīɥŋɔ́	"single"		yīná
bòkɔ	"pit"		bù'ad
nìn-gbīŋɔ́	"body"		nìn-gbīná
dàvɔɔ	"log"		dàad
fēŋ'ogɔ́	"ulcer"		fēŋ'ed́
kpī'ogɔ	"strong"		kpī'əmā
vīugɔ́	"owl"		vīid́
bē'ogɔ	"bad"		bē'ed (but bī'a "bad", pl bī'əs)
lām-fôɔgɔ	"toothless"		lām-fôɔd (but fùe "extract")

-uəd appears only in pl-form mass nouns like **zùəd** "friendship."

Dàbīogɔ pl **dàbīəd** "coward" has probably been influenced by **dàbīəm** "fear."

4.3 Tone patterns

The tones of an open-class word, prior to external tone sandhi or overlay, are specified by a tone pattern (tp), a suprasegmental stem feature which allocates tones to the syllables of each complete word belonging to the flexional paradigm, with the precise instantiation changing as the segmental form changes.

Nominals show only three basic tps (H, L and A), and verbs only two (H and A.) Allocation precedes all rules which delete segments, including apocope.

tp H	initial H or MH		
tp L	all-L (but with non-initial H in longer m -stems)		
tp A	(Alternating)	nominals:	all-M in sg/pl all-L in cif
		verbs:	all-M after nà/kù all-L otherwise

Any tones after H are L. All L flexional suffixes other than pf/cif **ɛ** carried M historically; the original tone appears before locative **n** and bound object pronouns, and accounts for the M-spread seen after the corresponding sfs.

Toneless superlight §2.2 syllables made word-final by apocope acquire M tone after M syllables, L after L/H:

kūgʊr´	lf	kūgʊré	sf	kūgʊr	"stone"
dìgʊr		dìgʊrè		dìgʊr	"dwarf"
nóbʊr		nóbʊrè		nóbʊr	"foot"

For the tones of bound liaison words see §5.4; other particles and pronouns with sf CV behave as apocope-blocked forms §3.

4.3.1 Nominals

Examples will be given as sg, pl, cif §6.1. Cifs are allocated tones prior to apocope of the final *ɛ*, after which any toneless final syllables acquire M tone after M, L after L/H. Many cifs are remodelled after sgs, but the cif tones remain unchanged.

Prefixes are L or M. Stems after prefixes have normal tps, except that cifs have X/H on the root after M prefixes. CV-stem cifs sometimes behave like prefixes:

zūg-kōgʊr	zūg-kōgā	zūg-kóg-	"pillow"
kā-wēnnīr	kā-wēnnā	kā-wén-	"corn"

Tp H shows H on the first syllable if it is superheavy §2.2 in the lf, but the lf otherwise begins MH, with the H on the *third* syllable if the second is superlight; any tones after H are L.

Examples (bracketed forms are lfs; word-internal *k t p ŋ* represent CC):

sú'əŋ _a (sú'əŋà)	sū'əmís	sū'əŋ- (sū'əmé)	"hare"
sāan _a ´ (sāaná)	sáam _{ma}	sāan-	"stranger"
gōt _a ´	gōtí _b _a	gōt-	"seer"
sābíl _l (sābíl _l è)	sābílá	sābíl- (sābíl _l é)	"black"
sābíl _l g _a	sābílís		"black"
dōk _ɔ ´	dōgʊd´ (dōgʊd _é)	dōg-	"pot"
kūgʊr´ (kūgʊr _é)	kūgá	kūg-	"stone"
dī'əs _a ´	dī'əsíd _l _a	dī'əs-	"receiver"

Monosyllabic lfs carry H, with sf M: *yā´* "houses", lf *yáa*; see also §5.3.

Lfs ending in overlong diphthongs carry MH, with sf M: *nūa´* "hen", lf *nūáa*.

Some words have a long root vowel followed by a nasal lost before *s* or *f*, or by deleted *g*; the first syllable still behaves as superheavy.

níiŋ _a	níis	*niinse	nīiŋ-	"bird"
píif _ɔ	*pɪunfɔ	pīuní	pīun-	"genet"
wáaf _ɔ	*waagfɔ	wīigí	wā'-	"snake"
yáab _a	*yaagba		yāa-	"grandparent"

So with all tp H fusion-verb gerunds: *náar* *naagre "finishing", *dí'ər* *di'əgre "getting", *pún'ər* *pũ'əgre "rotting."

Except in 2vbs and loans, *r* behaves as CC after a short root vowel:

nyīríf _ɔ	nyīrí		"egusi seed"
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A few root-stems share the tonal irregularity that before consonant-initial class suffixes they show X on superheavy sf monosyllables and initial H otherwise:

nû'ug _ɔ	nû'us	nū'-	"hand, arm"
nóbɪr	nōbá	nōb-	"foot, leg"
gélɪ	gēlá	gēl-	"egg"

So too à *gâvŋ_ɔ* "pied crow", *gbêɛnm* "sleep", *ánsɪb_a* "mother's brother", *kísug_ɔ* "hateful", and the gerunds *sónsɪg_a* "talking", *gósɪg_a* "looking", *kìkírɔg_ɔ* "hurrying."

Tp H with prefixes:

dàyūug _ɔ '	dàyūud'	dàyū-	"rat"
Bùsáŋ _a	Bùsâaŋs	Bùsāŋ-	"Bisa person"
zīnzāuŋ _ɔ '	zīnzāná	zīnzāuŋ-	"bat"
gūmpūzēr'	gūmpūzēyá	gūmpūzér-	"duck"
pīpīrɪg _a '	pīpīrɪs'	pīpír-	"desert"
tīntōnríg _a	tīntōnrís	tīntónr-	"mole"

Tp L has L on all syllables, except for *m*-stems of more than three morae, which show H on the last stem syllable.

sù'ug _a	sù'us	sù'-	"knife"
zàk _a	zà'as	zà'-	"compound"
mòlɪf _ɔ	mòlì	mòl-	"gazelle"
pùgudìb _a	pùgùd-nàm _a	pùgùd-	"father's sister"
sàal _a	sàalìb _a	sàal-	"human"

mèɛŋ _a	mèemìs	mèɛŋ-	"turtle"
ànròŋ _ɔ	ànrùmà	ànròŋ-	"boat"
zìlìm _n	zìlìmà	zìlìm-	"tongue"
nòŋìd _a			"lover"
sìilíŋ _a	sìilí(m)is	sìilíŋ-	"proverb"
zàańsúŋ _ɔ	zàańsíìmà	zàańsúŋ-	"dream"
dàalím	dàalímis	dàalím-	"male sex organs"
nòŋìlím		nòŋìlím-	"love"

Note **bùgúm** **bùgúm-/bùgūm-** "fire", **tàdúmís** "weakness", **bùdúmís** "confusion."
Tp L with prefixes:

kùkparìŋ _a	kùkparìs	kùkpar-	"palm tree"
sāmán _n	sāmánà	sāmán-	"courtyard"

Tp A shows M throughout in sg/pl forms and L throughout in the cif.

būʊŋ _a	būʊs	bù-	"goat"
tān _n	tānā	tàn-	"earth"
sīd _a	sīdìb _a	sìd-	"husband"
pɔ̀ā'	pɔ̀'ab _a	pɔ̀à'-	"woman"
gbīgīm _n	gbīgīmā	gbìgìm-	"lion"
mēɛd _a	mēɛdìb _a	mèɛd-	"builder"
sìākìd _a	sìākìdìb _a	sìākìd-	"believer"
mēɛdìŋ _a	mēɛdìs	mèɛdìŋ-	"building tool"

Agent nouns from tp A verbs which drop **d** in the sg/cif have tp L sgs:

pù'ʊs _a	pù'ʊsīdìb _a	pù'ʊs-	"worshipper"
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Before the negative enclitic, W and D have final *H* when a nominal lf ends in a long or epenthetic vowel followed by **CVCV**, **mCV** or **mm**:

sg	yūgudīré	pl	yūgudāa	"hedgehog"
	ńwāaŋā		ńwāamīsé	"monkey"
	bāŋīdā		bāŋīdìbá	"wise man"
	kpārīdīŋā		kpārīdīsé	"thing for locking"
	gbīgīmmé		gbīgīmāa	"lion"
	zōommé		zōomāa	"fugitive"
	tādīmm		tādīmīsé	"weak person"

W (not D) permits this before interrogative enclitics as an alternative:

Lì à nē gbīgīmméε/gbígìmmèε·? "Is it a lion?"

Tp A with prefixes:

dàkīig _a	dàkīis	dàkì-	"sib-in-law via wife"
fūfūm _n	fūfūmā	fūfóm-	"envy; stye"

4.3.2 Verbs

2vb pf and ipf forms with be cited in order; the m/c-imp is always subject to tone overlay. 1vbs have only one finite form.

Tp H 2-mora-stem pfs are all-M, becoming all-L before interrogative enclitics. They show final H only before liaison-word pronouns:

Ò pū dūgē·.	"She hasn't cooked."
Ò pū dúgèε·?	"Hasn't she cooked?"
Kà ò dūgí·lī.	"And she cooked it."

Tp H is otherwise as in nominals, but fusion-verb ipfs (and agent nouns) have initial M, not H, and r never behaves as rr in 2vb stems.

nyē	nyēt _a '	"see"
dūg	dūgud _a '	"cook"
kūl	kūn _{na} '	"go home"
yādıg'	yādıgíd _a	"scatter"
mōɔl'	móɔn _{na}	"proclaim"
dīgıł'	dīgın _{na}	"lay down"
nōk'	nōkíd _a	"take"
lāŋım	lāŋım _{ma}	"wander searching"
pāe'	pāad _a '	"reach"
	dīgıya'	"lie down"

Tp A has all tones M if directly preceded by the irrealis markers *nà/kù*, and all L everywhere else.

mè	mèed _a	"build"
bùd	bùt _a	"plant"
zàb	zàbıd _a	"fight, hurt"

bùel	bùen _{na}	"call"
bòdɪg	bòdɪgìd _a	"get lost, lose"
nìŋ	nìŋìd _a	"do"
zàansìm	zàansìm _{ma}	"dream"
	tàbɪya	"be stuck to"
Ò nà bōdīg.		"She'll get lost."
Ò kù bōdɪgìdā.		"She won't be getting lost."

4.3.3 Derivation

Root-stem words reveal the tps of the roots themselves.

Tp H roots have H derivatives, with the sole exception of verbs derived with **n**, which are all tp A §7.4. Thus with all deverbal nominals: **dōg** "cook", ger **dōgub_o'**, agent noun **dōgud_a'**, instrument **dōgudīŋ_a**. Irregular tp H corresponds to regular tp H elsewhere: **ánsɪb_a** "maternal uncle", **ānsíŋ_a** "sister's child"; **gósɪg_a** ger of **gōs** "look."

Tp L/A roots have L/A derivatives. Nominal tp A stems which are not deverbal must be either root-stems, or derived with **d** or **m** alone; thus

	nà'ab _a	"chief"	nā'am	"chieftaincy" (m -stem)
but	bīig _a	"child"	bīilím	"childhood"

Tp A verb gerunds are tp A if their stems have two morae, and tp L otherwise:

mēɛb _o	"building"	sùŋìr	"help"
kùəsùg _o	"selling"	zàansúŋ _o	"dream"
bòcòdìm	"will"	mèédím-tāa	"fellow-builder"

Tp A verb agent nouns and deverbal adjectives are tp A if they contain the suffix **d** (even assimilated, as in **mn** or **nn**), and tp L otherwise; the tp changes even between sg and pl if **d** is dropped in the sg alone.

sōŋìd _a	"helper"	kpiilúŋ _o	"dead"
bōcòdīr	"desirable"		
kùəs _a	"seller"	kūəsīdɪb _a	"sellers"

Tp A verb instrument nouns are all tp A: **mēédīŋ_a** "building tool", **kūəsīŋ_a** "salesperson."

5 External sandhi

Sandhi includes segmental contact, tone sandhi, and suppression of apocope. Apocope and tone overlay precede all tone sandhi; M-drop and changes before interrogative enclitics precede M-spread, which precedes all other tone sandhi.

5.1 Segmental contact

In non-VP-final verbs, final diphthongs are monophthongised unless *y* follows, and final short vowels denasalise before word-initial nasals:

Ò sù'v lór.	"She owns (sū'e _{ya} ´) a car."
Dúe wēlá'?	"(You) arose (dūe´) how?" (greeting)
Ènrìgìm · pāa dú'atà.	"Shift along up to (pāe´) the doctor."
Ò kè nā.	"She came (kēn) hither."
ti vone tis Zugsob la.	"we live (vūe _{ya} ´) to the Lord." Rom 14:8
tì vó nē · tís Zūg-sób lā.	
1p live FOC + give Lord the	
Mānī · án dú'atà kà fōn mén áḡn.	"I'm a doctor and you are too." W
1s + be doctor and 2s also be	
M á nē dú'atà.	"I'm a doctor."
1s be FOC doctor	

No other contact changes are marked in the orthography.

Across liaison *á · à* is usually rendered as *á, í · à* as *á* or *í*, and *í · ò* as *úu*:

Ò nìjí · àlá.	[niɟ:ala]/[niɟ:ɪla]	"She's done this."
Pèédá · àlá'?	[pɛ:dala]	"How many baskets?"
Bà gòsí · ò bīg.	[gɔsɔ:bi:g]	"They've looked at her child."

Final *n m ŋ* of right-bound words adopt the place of articulation of following consonants, as does syllabic *ṅ* (but not *m̩*):

nīn-bámmā´	[nimbam:a]	"these people"
nàm zī'	[nanzɪ]	"still not know"
ṅ Bīl _a	[ṁbil]	"Mbillah" (personal name)

Within phrases, initial **C** is lost in *lā́* "the" after *r*, in focus-*nḗ* after *d t n r l m*, and in *nwà* "this" after any **C**; nasalisation is lost and preceding [n l m] geminated:

<i>yīr lā</i>	[jira]	"the house"
<i>Bà kp̄iid nē.</i>	[k̄pi:dɛ]	"They're dying."
<i>M̄ zót nē.</i>	[zotɛ]	"I'm afraid."
<i>Lì kp̄àr nē.</i>	[k̄paɾɛ]	"It's locked."
<i>Lì p̄è'el nē.</i>	[p̄ɛ:l:ɛ]	"It's full."
<i>Lì sàñ'am nē.</i>	[sã:m:ɛ]	"It's spoilt."
<i>Zōn ñwá!</i>	[zɔn:a]	"Fools!"

5.2 Word-initial tone changes

After most word types, M-spread changes a following word-initial L to X on superheavy syllables, H otherwise, unless the L is "fixed" (see below.) It follows all

subject pronouns

words ending in M tone

words not bound to the right *except* pfs ending in L or H

pls ending in -á or -í

some forms with M-drop (below)

M/c marking §10.6 affects M-spread.

M-spread does not occur across pause. It does not follow conjunctions or clause adjuncts, but otherwise crosses phrase boundaries:

<i>Bà t̄is n̄a'ab lā búŋ.</i>	"They've given the chief a donkey."
3p give chief the donkey	(<i>bùŋ_a</i> "donkey")

M-spread is absent after pfs without m/c tone overlay which do not end in M, and after nominal pls in -á or -í:

	<i>Kà m̄ gōs búŋ lā.</i>	"And I've looked at the donkey."
but	<i>Kà m̄ ñwé' bùŋ lā.</i>	"And I've hit the donkey."
	<i>M̄ d̄ìgà bódìg yā.</i>	"My dwarfs have got lost."
but	<i>M̄ yūgumá bódìg yā.</i>	"My camels have got lost."

The pronouns *m̄ f̄ò ò l̄ì t̄ì yà bà à*, linker *kà*, all forms of nominaliser *ñ* (including segmental zero), all prefixes *à-* and all number prefixes have a fixed L tone not subject to M-spread. With no intervening pause, M before fixed L must become H:

wuu saa naani iank ya nya'aŋ n ti paae ya tuona la.

wūu sáa· nāanī · jǎnk yà nyá'aŋ n tí páe ·yà tùènà lā

like rain·NZ start.at + jump 2p behind + next reach 2p front the

"like when lightning leaps from East to West" Mt 24:27 B2

Fixed L does change to M before the negative enclitic; né tì "with us", but

Amaa o pu lal ne tii.

"But he is not far from us." Acts 17:27 B2

Àmáa ò pū lāl né tī.

but 3a NG be.far with 1p-NG

As H derives from ML/MML on one syllable, X from MLL, M-spread after word-final M looks phonologically transparent. Bound pronouns followed by M-spread formerly carried M (Spratt), and H/L-final sfs followed by M-spread had lf-final M, delinked by apocope. However, M-spread has now been grammaticalised: nouns with identical H/L-final sg and cif show M-spread after sg but not cif, even if the cif has added segments by analogy, as with lànngà "squirrel" cif lànng-.

M-drop takes place exclusively within NPs.

After all free predependents except personal pronouns, and after all cifs ending in M tone, whether dependents or heads:

unprefixed words with initial M tone change all tones to L;

M prefixes change to L, with the rest of the stem unaffected.

M-drop affects only the one following word, which may be a cif.

M-drop applies before M-spread; the preceding word usually also induces M-spread, and the new initial L becomes X/H. M-drop also precedes the tone changes due to liaison: dāu lā pógū-n "in the man's field (pógū́)."

Examples:

bù-pāalìg_a

"new goat"

nō-pāalìg_a

"new hen"

bù-kūd_a

"goat-killer"

nō-kūd_a

"hen-killer"

nà'-bīig_a

"prince/princess"

nà'ab bīig

"a king's child"

mān yūgùm

"my camel"

mān gbīgīm

"my lion"

dāu lā yūgùm

"the man's camel"

dāu lā gbīgīm

"the man's lion"

m̄ bīāyá yūgùm

"my sibs' camel"

m̄ bīāyá gbīgīm

"my sibs' lion"

mōogū-n yūgùm

"a wild camel"

Words which do not have initial M are unaffected, but W optionally applies M-drop to words with initial H on long vowels: *dāu lā nāaf* "the man's cow (*nāaf*)." *nāaf* is blue.

M-drop occurs only within NPs:

Bà tìs nā'ab lā bìig. "They've given it to the chief's child."
 but *Bà tìs nā'ab lā bìig.* "They've given the chief a child."

M-drop never follows free heads: thus *kūg-yīnnì* "one stone", but *kūgōr yīnní* "one stone", *kūgōr lā* "the stone", *kūgá pīigā* "ten stones."

Mono- and disyllabic words affected by *both* M-drop and M-spread after a free predependent are not followed by M-spread:

<i>Dāu lā bán b̀̀d̀̀g yā.</i> man the ring get.lost m/c	"The man's ring (<i>bāŋ_a</i>) has got lost."
<i>Dāu lā yúg̀̀m b̀̀d̀̀g yā.</i>	"The man's camel (<i>yūg̀̀m_n</i>) has got lost."
<i>Dāu lā bìig b̀̀d̀̀g yā.</i>	"The man's child (<i>bīig_a</i>) has got lost."
but <i>M̀̀ bìāyá bán b̀̀d̀̀g yā.</i>	"My sibs' ring ..." (no M-spread)
<i>M̀̀ bìāyá ỳ̀g̀̀m b̀̀d̀̀g yā.</i>	"My sibs' camel ..." (no M-spread)
<i>Dāu lā s̀̀'̀̀g b̀̀d̀̀g yā.</i>	"The man's knife (<i>s̀̀'̀̀g_a</i>) ..." (no M-drop)
<i>Dāu lā ỳ̀g̀̀d̀̀r b̀̀d̀̀g yā.</i>	"The man's hedgehog (<i>ỳ̀g̀̀d̀̀r</i>) ..." (three syllables)

M-spread/M-drop after compounds follow the ordinary rules (with *dī̀̀b* "food"):

<i>b̀̀-ẁ̀k dī̀̀b</i>	"tall goat's food"	<i>n̄-ẁ̀k dī̀̀b</i>	"tall hen's food"
<i>b̀̀-ẁ̀k-p̄̀̀l̀̀g_a</i>	"tall white goat"	<i>n̄-ẁ̀k-p̄̀̀l̀̀g_a</i>	"tall white hen"
<i>b̀̀-ẁ̀k-p̄̀̀al̀̀g_a</i>	"tall new goat"	<i>n̄-ẁ̀k-p̄̀̀al̀̀g_a</i>	"tall new hen"

M-drop applies sequentially. Words already affected by M-drop do not alter, and the occurrence of M-spread reflects the sequence of applications:

<i>dāu lā [n̄-p̄̀̀al̀̀g]</i>	"the man's new hen (<i>n̄-p̄̀̀al̀̀g_a</i>)"
<i>[fūug d̄̀̀g]</i>	"tent" (<i>fūug</i> "cloth", <i>d̄̀̀g</i> "hut")
<i>p̀̀'̀̀s̀̀g [fūug d̄̀̀g]</i>	"tabernacle" (<i>p̀̀'̀̀s̀̀g</i> "worship")
<i>[[[dāu lā bìig] b̄̀̀r] nāaf] z̀̀r</i>	"the man's child's sib's cow's tail" W (<i>bīig_a</i> , <i>b̄̀̀r</i> , <i>nāaf</i> , <i>z̀̀r</i>)

5.3 Prosodic enclitics

Prosodic enclitics lack segmental form (cf Spencer and Luís pp132ff on such clitics elsewhere.) They cause preceding words to appear as lfs: final *iə uə* -> *ia ua*; final *mɛ* -> *mm* [*prior* to *mne* -> *mmɛ*] and final 3-mora monophthongs -> 2-mora, so that sf and lf coincide segmentally. Any tp H lfs which become monosyllabic carry H.

vōm´	"life"	lf	vómm	
dāam´	"beer"		dáamm	
tōom´	"disappear"		tóomm	
kúo [kɔ:]	"kill her"		kúo	*kvo·o
gāan´	"jackalberry"		gáan	*gãaga

The negative enclitic ends VPs containing a negated/negative verb. It changes lf-final L syllables to M.

Lì k̄ā' dū́kó·. "It's not a pot (dū́kɔ́)."
 3i NG.be pot·NG

Lì k̄ā' nóbr̄ē·. "It's not a leg (nóbr̄)."
 Bà k̄ā' mólī·. "They are not gazelles (mòlì)."
 Lì k̄ā' yàar̄imm·. "It's not salt (yàar̄im)."

This rule applies *after* M-spread; thus

Lì k̄á' ò t̄imm·. "It's not her medicine (t̄im)."
 Lì k̄á' bà dā'a·. "It's not their market (dā'a)."
 but Lì k̄ā' t̄imm·. "It's not medicine."
 Lì k̄ā' dá'a·. "It's not a market."

Similar lfs, written with final *ɛ ɔ* in B3, appear in conjunctions and clause adjuncts like *bō zúgō* "because", *dāa-sí'ərē* "perhaps", and sometimes *yà'*-clauses:

Kikirig ya'a mor buude, fun tis o ka o lebig o moogin.
 Kìkìrīg yá' m̄or b̄ūdē, f̄un t̄ísò· k̄à ò l̄èbìg ò m̄ōgū·n.

fairy if have innocence 2s give·3a and 3a return 3a grass-at

"When a fairy is right agree so that it will go back to the bush." G2 p38

Commands consisting of a verb alone, or verb + 2pS, sometimes also end in lfs of this kind: *gòsumā!* "look!", *gòsumī-yá!* "look (pl)!"; so too with the greeting formula *Nē sónsıgā!* "(Blessing) on your conversation!"

The vocative enclitic ends vocative clauses. It changes lf-final L to M. It sometimes imposes a falling intonation on final M.

M̄ puā' né m̄ bīisē! "My wife and my children!"
1s wife with 1s child.PL-VOC

The two interrogative enclitics end questions. Before the polar-question enclitic, lf-final short vowels are lengthened.

Bà à nē mólì·? "Are they gazelles (**mòlì**)?"
3p be FOC gazelle.PL-PQ

Lì à nē nóburè·? "Is it a leg (**nóbur**)?"

Before the content-question enclitic, lfs that do not end in a short vowel (including those in **-mm**) adopt the segmental form of the *sf*:

Ànó'ònì · ñyē nóburè·? "Who's seen a leg?"
who + see leg·CQ

Ànó'ònì · ñyē sù'ugà·? "Who's seen a knife (**sù'uga**)?"

Ànó'ònì · ñyē dūkó·? "Who's seen a pot (**dūkó**)?"

Ànó'ònì · ñyē mólì·? "Who's seen gazelles?"

Ànó'ònì · ñyé·? "Who has seen?"

Ànó'ònì · ñyē nīn-dáa·? "Who's seen a face (**nīn-dáa**)?"

Ànó'ònì · ñyē bédugú·? "Who's seen a lot (**bédugú**)?"

Ànó'ònì · wóm·? "Who has heard (**wòm**)?"

All questions have final *falling* intonation and end with a L or H tone. If all tones of the lf before an interrogative enclitic are M, all of them become L. This rule applies before M-spread, to which the new L tones are now subject.

Ànó'ònì · ñyé bà bìigà·? "Who has seen their child (**bīiga**)?"

Ànó'ònì · ñyē bíigà·? "Who's seen a child?"

Ànó'ònì · ñyē zūáyā·? "Who's seen hills (**zūáyā**)?"

Fù bôod bó·? "What (**bô**) do you want?"

Ò pū dúgè·? "Hasn't she cooked (**dūg**)?"

M̄ ná bōdīgè·? "Will I get lost?"

(**M̄ ná bōdīg** "I will get lost.")

5.4 Liaison

Liaison words prevent apocope applying to the preceding word, which retains its final lf vowel, but with loss of its quality and length contrasts.

Left-bound liaison words will be called liaison enclitics. They comprise: locative **n** (after nominals), nominaliser **̀n** (after NPs), discontinuous-past **n** and 2pS **ya**, and the object personal pronouns **m_a f_o o l t u ya ba** (after verbs, past **n** or 2pS **ya**.) Liaison enclitics are always preceded by liaison.

Non-enclitic liaison words are the right-bound pronouns **m̀ f̀ ò l̀ t̀ ỳ à b̀ à à**, catenating **n**, and all words with prefixed **à**. Liaison is usual before **n** and number-prefix **à**, but is otherwise only common after verbs and after 2pS **ya**.

Before liaison lf-final short vowels become **ɪ**, rounded to **ʊ** after **f** or rounded vowels + **g/ŋ** by many speakers. Final diphthongs become 2-mora monophthongs. Final **-ya** is dropped, and preceding vowels again become 2-mora monophthongs. Final non-root vowels are usually lengthened, but may remain unchanged.

kūk _a	"chair"	+ n "at" ->	kūkī·n
dūk _o ´	"pot"		dūkí·n
pōɔg _o ´	"field"		pōɔgú·n
gbàʊŋ _o	"book"		gbàʊŋū·n
dà'a	"market"		dā'a·n
kù'əm	"water"		kù'əmī·n

nyē	"see"	+ ba 3p ->	nyéɛ·bā
kjà	"cut"		kìə·bā
gbāñ'e´	"seize"		gbáñ'a·bā
pīe´	"wash"		píə·bā
dūe´	"raise"		dúə·bā
sū'e _{ya} ´	"own"		sú'v·bā

vūe _{ya} ´	"live"	+ n past ->	vūv·n
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Tì gósí ·bà bīis.

"We've looked at their (bà) children."

1p look 3p child.PL

Before non-enclitics or enclitic **m**, final **mɪ** may become **m**, with its tone shifted to the preceding syllable:

Gòsímí ·fù nù'ug!	Gòsím ·fù nù'ug!	"Look at your hand!"
Gòsímī·m!	Gòsīm·m!	"Look at me!"

Nominaliser *n̄* fuses with preceding subject pronouns §9.2; the change M -> H before its fixed L tone is the only sign of its presence elsewhere for my consultants:

dāu lá· n̄wè' bòn̄ lā "the man having hit the donkey"
 man the·NZ hit donkey the

Texts may show *n*, especially after proper names, and/or liaison:

ya zuobid wōsa kalli an si'em "the number of all your hairs" Lk 12:7
yà zūəbíd wōsā kāllí· àn sī'em
 2p hair.PL all number·NZ be how

After pause, catenating *n* appears as *n*. After proper nouns, pls in *-a* or *-ɪ*, or apocope-blocked words, W B3 show *n* or zero; after final *m n ŋ*, zero; elsewhere, liaison without *n*; final root vowels may remain short. Older texts show *n* more often.

Wáafò · dúmō· "A snake has bitten him." W
 snake + bite:3a

Kà ò zóó · kēŋ nā. "And he came running"
 and 3a run + come hither

Mam tòm̄mi tísìd anó'ónè? "Who am I working for?" Eccl 4:8
Mām tómmì · tísìd ànó'ónè?
 1s work.IPF + give.IPF who·CQ

Some liaison words induce further quality changes in lf-final vowels.

Before 2p object *ya*, any back second morae of long vowels are fronted, lax morae becoming [ɪ] and tense becoming [i]:

Kà bà kíe·yā. "And they cut (*kj̄à*) you."
Kà bà gbán'e·yā. "And they seized (*gbāñ'e´*) you."
Kà bà kúe·yā. "And they killed (*kū*) you."
Kà bà zúi·yā. "And they stole (*zū*) you."

The pronouns *o* "him/her" and 2pS *ya* lose their entire segmental form in their sfs. Both completely override the vowel quality of the pre-liaison mora, creating secondary diphthongs.

The mora before *o* becomes *o* [ɔ] (fusing with the lf of the pronoun as *o·o* [ɔ:]), while the mora before *ya* becomes [i]:

<i>bòɔd_a</i>	"want"	+ <i>o</i> 3a ->	<i>bòɔdō·</i>	lf <i>bòɔdó·o</i>
<i>tùm</i>	"send"		<i>tùmò·</i>	lf <i>tùmò·o</i>
<i>dì</i>	"eat"		<i>dìo·</i>	lf <i>dìò·o</i>
<i>kjà</i>	"cut"		<i>kìo·</i>	lf <i>kìò·o</i>
<i>zū</i>	"steal"		<i>zúo·</i>	lf <i>zūó·o</i>
<i>àɛñ_{ya}</i>	"be"		<i>ànò·</i>	lf <i>ànó·o</i>
<i>pāe´</i>	"reach"		<i>páo·</i>	lf <i>pāó·o</i>
<i>pīe´</i>	"wash"		<i>pío·</i>	lf <i>pīó·o</i>
<i>dūe´</i>	"raise"		<i>dúo·</i>	lf <i>dūó·o</i>
<i>zū</i>	"steal"	+ <i>ya</i> 2pS ->	<i>zūe·</i>	lf <i>zūe·yá</i>
<i>bè</i>	"be"		<i>bēi·</i>	lf <i>bēi·yá</i>

ya itself becomes *ní* before liaison (historically, **ja* -> **ɲi*.)

Dì'əmī·! "Receive (pl)!"
receive.IMP·2pS

Dì'əmī·ní·bā! "Receive (pl) them!"
receive.IMP·2pS·3p

Dì'əmī·nó! "Receive (pl) her!"
receive.IMP·2pS·3a

nɔŋimini ya pu'ab "love (pl) your wives" Col 3:19
nòŋimī·ní·yà pū'ab
love.IMP·2pS 2p woman.PL

Number-prefix *à-* changes preceding lf-final short vowels to *-a*, but in all other cases lfs before *à* are the same as lfs before consonant-initial liaison words:

Ṁ mór nē bīisá ·àtán'. "I have three children."
1s have FOC child.PL three

Pèédá ·àlá·? "How many baskets?"
basket.PL how.many-CQ

but Ò nìṅí ·àlá. "She has done thus."
3a do thus

Fù áan̄ ·ànó'ónè? "Who are you?"
2s be who·CQ

yeli Abaa "said to Dog" G2 p20
yèlì ·à Bāa
say PZ dog

Tone changes induced by liaison words apply after M-spread.
Locative **n** changes any preceding lf-final L to M:

pōṅṅó'	"field"	+ n "at" ->	pōṅṅó·n
bīig _a	"child"		bīigī·n
yàad	"graves"		yàadī·n
kūbdí _a	"killers"		kūbdíbī·n

Past **n** and 2pS *ya/n* change any preceding lf-final L or *non-root* H to M:

dōg	"cook"	+ n past ->	dōgō·n
mè	"build"		mēε·n
bòdɪg	"lose"		bòdɪgī·n
yādɪg'	"scatter"		yādɪgī·n
kūbd _a '	"kill" ipf		kūbdī·n
dōl _l _a '	"go with"	+ <i>ya</i> 2pS ->	dōllī· lf dōllī·yá

After pfs without m/c marking and not preceded by irrealis *nà/kù*, bound object pronouns change any preceding lf-final M to H:

bòdɪg	"lose"	+ <i>ba</i> 3p ->	bòdɪgì·bā
dì	"eat"		dì·bā
yādɪg'	"scatter"		yādɪgí·bā
dōg	"cook"		dōgí·bā
kū	"kill"		kúv·bā
pāe'	"reach"		páa·bā
bàs	"abandon"	+ <i>o</i> 3a ->	bàsò·
gōs	"look"		gōsò·

In all other cases, bound object pronouns change any preceding lf-final L to M. Thus with ipfs:

kūvd _a '	"kill"	+ m _a 1s ->	kūvdí·m
bàsıd _a	"leave"		bàsıdī·m
yādıgıd _a	"scatter"		yādıgıdī·m
nòŋ	"love"		nòŋī·m

kūvd _a '	"kill"	+ o 3a ->	kūvdó·
bàsıd _a	"leave"		bàsıdō·
yādıgıd _a	"scatter"		yādıgıdō·

After m/c marking (which first changes all tones to L §10.6):

Ò bòdıgī·m.	"He's lost me."
Ò bòdıgō·	"He's lost her."
Ò yàdıgī·bá.	"He's scattered them."
Ò kūv·bá.	"She has killed them."

Lfs of liaison enclitics (other than o "him/her") bear M after L/H and H after M:

pōog _o '	"field"	+ n "at" ->	pōogú·n	If pōogú·nē
yàad	"graves"		yàadī·n	If yàadī·né
kūvd _a '	"kill"	+ m _a 1s ->	kūvdí·m	If kūvdí·mā
bàsıd _a	"leave"		bàsıdī·m	If bàsıdī·má
yādıgıd _a	"scatter"	+ ba 3p ->	yādıgıdī·bá	

However, they carry H, not M, after a L root vowel which would have changed to M before the enclitic if it had not already been changed to H by M-spread:

Ò ká' bà dā'a·né·.	"She is not at their market (dā'a)."
Ò kā' dá'a·né·.	"She is not at market."

Enclitic pronouns with M on the sf change to H before all prosodic enclitics:

Kà m̀ básı·bā.	"And I left them."
Kà m̀ pū básı·bāa·.	"And I didn't leave them."
Kà m̀ kúv·bā.	"And I killed them."
Àn'ónì kúv·bá·?	"Who's killed them?"

Lf o "him/her" is tonally null, but -ò·o becomes -ō·o before the negative enclitic by the usual rule, while -ō·o becomes -ó·o before all prosodic enclitics; final overlong diphthongs behave tonally as if they were -VCVV:

bàsɪd _a	"leave"	+ o 3a ->	bàsɪdō·	lf bàsɪdó·o
yādɪgíd _a	"scatter"		yādɪgídō·	lf yādɪgídó·o
bòɔd _a	"want"		bòɔdō·	lf bòɔdó·o
nyē	"see"		nyéó·	lf nyéó·o

Ò nà bāsō·.

"He will leave her."

Ò kù bāsó·o·.

"He won't leave her."

Catenating n is toneless. A preceding lf-final tone is M after M, L otherwise. M-spread follows n whenever the sf of the preceding word would induce it:

amaa o kena ye o tum tisi ba

"but he came to serve them" Mt 20:28

àmáa ò kē nā yé ò túm · tìsì·bā

but 3a come hither that 3a work + give:3p

M nók sú'ugò · kɪá nīm lā.

"I've cut the meat with a knife."

1s take knife + cut meat the

All other non-enclitic liaison words begin with a fixed L tone. Preceding words show the final tones seen before the enclitic object pronouns or the locative particle, with M becoming H before the fixed L:

Kà bà dìtí · bà dīb.

"And they were eating their food."

and 3p eat.IPF 3p food

bane na yel Zugsobi ba tuuma a si'em la

bànì· nà yēl Zūg-sóbí · bà tūmá· àn sī'əm lā

DEMP·NZ IR say Lord 3p deed.PL·NZ be how the

"those who will tell the Lord how their deeds are" Heb 13:17 B2

6 Flexion

6.1 Nouns

Nouns inflect for number by adding noun class suffixes to the stem; the stem appears with the suffix ε as a compound-initial form (cif) before other nominals §9.1. Cifs undergo apocope, but after non-nasal consonants, ε was formerly retained as ι ; older texts show occasional archaisms like *nwadibil* for *nwād-bíl_a* "star."

Forms will be cited in the order sg, pl, cif.

The five sg|pl suffix pairs $a|ba$, $ga|se$, $gɔ|de$, $re|aa$ and $fɔ|\iota$ account for most count nouns; two unpaired suffixes form $bɔ|$ and $me|$ classes, mostly of mass nouns. Pronouns, adjectives and numerals once agreed by class, but gender is now natural, animate/inanimate; the 3rd person pronouns are those originally for $a|ba$ and $re|aa$.

An expected class suffix may be replaced by one from a different class to avoid ambiguity. This has become regular with $gɔ|de$ stems ending in m n , which use pl aa instead of de ; so too do all gerunds in $gɔ$.

A subclass of $a|ba$ referring to older/important people uses ba as a sg suffix, and language names belong to a subclass of $re|aa$ with the sg suffix le .

The classes are thus as follows:

$a ba$ $ba $	$sīd_a$ $nà'ab_a$	$sīdīb_a$ $nà'-nàm_a$	$sìd-$ $nà'-$	"husband" "chief"
$ga se$	$būvg_a$	$būvs$	$bù-$	"goat"
$gɔ de$ $gɔ aa$	$vīug_ɔ'$ $bū'əsúg_ɔ$	$vīid'$ $bū'əsá$	$vī-$ $bū'əs-$	"owl" "question"
$re aa$ $le $	$nōɔr'$ $Kūsâal$	$nōyá$	$nō-$	"mouth" "Kusaal"
$fɔ \iota$	$mòlɪf_ɔ$	$mòlì$	$mòl-$	"gazelle"
$bɔ $	$sā'ab_ɔ$		$sà'-$	"porridge"
$me $	$tìim$		$tì-$	"medicine"

In two contexts, sg lfs show a different class suffix that would give the same sf: lf $-ga$ may become $-gɔ$ after rounded vowels, e.g. $nū'ug_ɔ$ pl $nū'us$ "hand", and $a|ba$ stems in l n r may show lf $-lle$ $-nne$ $-re$, as if with the suffix re , e.g. $Bìn_n$ "Moba person."

$a|ba$ m -stems avoid pl ba ; some human-reference $ga|se$ nouns use pl ba beside se ; countable $me|$ nouns use pl aa or se or use $nàm_a$; the small $fɔ|\iota$ class includes words with $fɔ|\iota$ suffixes in only one number; the few other irregular pairings mostly involve replacement of pl de by other suffixes.

The word **nàm_a** follows count-noun cifs or mass sgs to make pls: **kpèènm-nàm_a** "elders", **sā'ab nám_a** "portions of porridge." It pluralises loans, pronouns, quantifiers, pl forms used as sg, mass nouns in count sense, and forms with personaliser **à**. It is used to avoid ambiguous regular pls, and to form the pls of

mà	mà nám _a sic	mà-	"mother"
bā'	bā'-nám _a	bā'-	"father"
zụà	zụà-nàm _a	zụà-	"friend"

Short or ambiguous cifs are often remodelled segmentally (not tonally) on the sg, or on the pl if the meanings differ:

tānp _o		tānp-	"war"
lā'af _o	līgīdī	lā'-/līg-	"cowrie" pl "money"
zūg _o '	zūt'	zū(g)-	"head"
kòl _o g _o	kòn _n	kòl _o g-	"sack"
làn _n ìg _a	làn _n ìs	làn _n ìg-	"squirrel"

Cf **kòl_og_a** "river", cif **kòl-**, **lān_n** "testicle", cif **làn-**.

Dependent cifs are less often remodelled than heads: **nīf-kájā** "this eye", but **nīn-gótìs** "glasses"; **gbāy_o-kájā** "this skin" but **gbān-záb_a** "leatherbeater."

B2 often has cifs remodelled in writing but not audio, e.g. **zug-**, read **zū-**, **Siig Su_o** "Holy Spirit", read **Sì-sù_o**.

Remodelling is usual with **m/n** stems, and with **CV**-stems in **rɛ|aa**:

zīnzāy _o '	zīnzāná	zīnzáy _o -	"bat"
gbēr'	gbēyá	gbēr-	"thigh"
kùkōr'	kùkōyá	kùkō(r)-	"voice"

Two nouns distinguish sg/pl cifs as heads (**dà_o-sù_o** "good man" pl **dàp-sùmà**):

dā _o	dāp _a	dà _o - sg dàp- pl	"man"
tā _o n'	tānp _a '	tā _o n- sg tānp- pl	"opposite-sex sib"

Apocope-blocking is seen in many manner nouns §10.7.3, and in a few other nouns which are probably loans from languages without apocope: **nà'asì** "honour"; **kāburí** "permission to enter"; **būudī** cif **būud-** "tribe" (Mooré *buudu* "family, kind" sg *buugu*); **sūg_orú** "forbearance" (Mooré *sugri*); **kīibú** "soap" (Mampruli *kyibu*.)

There are partial correlations between class and meaning.

a|ba has exclusively human-reference membership.

ga|sɛ has general membership but includes most tree names, many larger animals, and tools. Most nouns referring to people belong to **a|ba** or **ga|sɛ**.

gɔ|dɛ and **rɛ|aa** are the default non-human countable classes. They include all names of fruits, and four out of five nouns for body parts. Human-reference **gɔ|dɛ** nouns are pejorative: **dàbīog** "coward", **zōlvog** "fool." Stems referring to people may use sg **gɔ** for the place where they live. Most human-reference **rɛ|aa** nouns have been transferred from **a|ba** for phonological reasons. All language names belong to **lɛ|**.

fɔ|u comprises two groups: non-human animals, and small round things, including all seeds.

bɔ| has only three members that are not gerunds: **sā'ab** "millet porridge", **tānp** "war" and **kī'ub** "soap."

mɛ| contains nouns referring to liquids, substances and abstractions, and a few inanimate count nouns.

Regular deverbal nouns have predictable class membership.

The sg sf is usually enough to identify the noun class, given whether the word has human reference. Loans are fitted into noun classes by analogy or use **nām_a**:

ga sɛ	àràzàk_a	àràzà'as	àràzà'-	"riches"
	màlǐāk_a'	màlǐā'as'	màlǐā'-	"angel" D
gɔ dɛ	gādvg_ɔ'	gāt'	gād-	"bed"
	lòmbòn'og_ɔ	lòmbòn'od	lòmbòn'-	"garden"
rɛ aa	lór	lóryà/lóom_{ma}	lór-	"car, lorry" (cf Mōr')
	àlópìr	àlópìyà		"aeroplane" S
		wādá	wād-	"law"
nām_a	Nàsāarā	Nàsàa(r)-nām_a	Nàsàa(r)-	"European"

Loans ending in L or H show M-spread after sg, but not cif: **dú'atà nâ'ab** "a doctor's chief", but **dú'atà-nà'ab** "a doctor-chief, doctor who is a chief."

Some all-M loanwords change final M to H in the cif on the analogy of nouns with M prefixes: **dūnyā** "world", **dūnyá-kàṅā** "this world."

Paradigms

Stems form cifs with the suffix *ε*. By default, class suffixes attach after a stem-final epenthetic vowel or root vowel; complications arise from root allomorphy, deletion of *g*, vowel and consonant assimilation, and rounding §4.2.

a|ba

Stem-final *m n* assimilate before pl *ba*: *mb/nb* -> *mm*.

Most stems ending in consonants show *-a* in the sg:

<i>sīd_a</i>	<i>sīdīb_a</i>	<i>sīd-</i>	"husband"
<i>nīd_a'</i>	<i>nīdīb_a'</i>	<i>nīn- sic</i>	"person"
<i>sàal_a</i>	<i>sàalīb_a</i>	<i>sàal-</i>	"human being"
<i>kōvd_a'</i>	<i>kōvdīb_a</i>	<i>kōvd-</i>	"killer"
<i>sāan_a'</i>	<i>sāam_{ma}</i>	<i>sāan-</i>	"guest, stranger"
<i>yōvm-yō'vm_{na}</i>	<i>-yō'vmnīb_a</i>	<i>-yō'vm-</i>	"singer"
<i>puà'-sān'am_{ma}</i>	<i>-sān'amīdīb_a sic</i>	<i>-sān'am-</i>	"adulterer"
<i>pā'an_{na}</i>	<i>pā'annīb_a</i>	<i>pà'an-</i>	"teacher"

Agent nouns from 3-mora stems in *s* regularly drop the *d* formant in sg and cif, as do those from a few other verbs. Many have *nām_a* pls as well or instead.

<i>kùəs_a</i>	<i>kùəsīdīb_a</i>	<i>kùəs-</i>	"seller"
<i>sīgı_a'</i>	<i>sīgısīdīb_a</i>	<i>sīgıs-</i>	"lowerer"
<i>dı_s_a</i>	<i>dı_s-nām_a</i>	<i>dı_s-</i>	"glutton"
<i>sòs_a</i>	<i>sòsīdīb_a</i>	<i>sòs-</i>	"beggar"
<i>tıs_a</i>	<i>tısīdīb_a</i>	<i>tıs-</i>	"giver" W
<i>kīs(ıd)_a'</i>	<i>kīsıdīb_a</i>	<i>kīsıd-</i>	"hater"
<i>zàb-zàb_a</i>	<i>-zàbıdīb_a</i>	<i>-zàb-</i>	"warrior"
<i>gbān-záb_a</i>	<i>-záb-nām_a</i>	<i>-záb-</i>	"leatherbeater"
<i>nwī-ték_a</i>	<i>-tékıdīb_a</i>		"rope-puller"

Stems in single *m* have sg *-mε* and pls with *sε* or *nām_a*:

<i>kpī'ım</i>	<i>kpī'ımıs</i>	<i>kpì'ım-</i>	"dead person"
<i>zū'əm'</i>	<i>zū'əmıs</i>	<i>zū'əm-</i>	"blind person"
<i>tādım</i>	<i>tādımıs</i>	<i>tàdım-</i>	"weak person"
	<i>tàdım-nām_a</i>		
<i>kpēɛnım</i>	<i>kpēɛnım-nām_a</i>	<i>kpèɛnım-</i>	"elder"
<i>bī'əm</i>	<i>bì'əm-nām_a</i>	<i>bì'əm-</i>	"enemy"

For *kpēɛnım bī'əm*, W also has the lf-only pls *kpēɛnımmā bī'əmmā*.

CVn-stems show sg lf -nne, the sfs having been reinterpreted as sg re.

Dàgbān _n '	Dàgbām _{ma} '	Dàgbān-	"Dagomba person"
Bìn _n	Bìm _{ma}	Bìn-	"Moba person"
Kùtān _n '	Kùtām _{ma} '	Kùtān-	member of W's clan

CVmm-stems have only nām_a pls: dām-dām_{ma} "shaker."

CVll- and CVr-stems take a|ba suffixes, but W has variant re|aa forms.

gbàn-zānl _{la} '	-zānl _{la}	-zānl-	"book-carrier" K W
bù-mōr _a '	-mōr _{ba}	-mōr-	"goat-owner" W
gbàn-tār _a '	-tār _{ba}	-tār-	"book-owner" D
zà'-nō-gúr _a	-gúr _{ba}	-gúr-	"gatekeeper"
bù-zānl _l '	-zānl _{la}	-zānl-	"goat-carrier" W
nyā'an-dól _l	-dól _{la}	-dól-	"disciple" W
bù-mōr'	-mōr _a	-mōr-	"goat-owner" W

Seven nouns end in vowels in the sg sf:

pūā'	pū'ab _a	pūà'-	"woman"
bā'a	bā'ab _a	bà'a-	"diviner"
sāēn _(ya)	sāān _{ba}	sān-	"blacksmith"
sōēn _(ya)	sōōn _{ba}	sōn-	"witch"
dāu	dāp _a	dāu-, dāp-	"man"
tāuñ'	tānp _a '	tāuñ-, tānp-	"opposite-sex sibling"
pītú	pīt _{ba}	pīt-	"junior same-sex sib"

The forms in -u -v reflect an old sg -wa. In compounds, -pīt_a' replaces pītú:
bì-pīt_a' "younger child."

Some CVV stems introduce d in the sg and either the pl or cif:

wìd _a	wìb _a	wìd-	"hunter"
sōñ'od _a '	sōñ'ob _a '	sōñ'od-	"someone better"
pūkpāad _a '	pūkpāad _{ba} '	pūkpá-	"farmer"

Others have become re|aa: pùkòònr "widow", dàkòònr "bachelor", bīer' "elder same-sex sibling", pòñ'or "cripple", nyē'er' "next-younger sibling." Related languages keep pl ba, e.g. Toende Kusaal pəkōot pl pəkōp "widow."

A subclass referring to older/important people has **ba** for sg, with pl **nàm_a**:

nà'ab _a	nà'-nàm _a	nà'-	"chief"
yáab _a *yaagba	yāa-nám _a	yāa-	"grandparent"
pùgudìb _a	pùgùd-nàm _a	pùgùd-	"father's sister"
ánstìb _a	āns-nám _a	āns-	"mother's brother"
sàam _{ma}	sàam-nàm _a	sàam-	"father"
dìem _{ma}	dìem-nàm _a	dìem-	"man's parent-in-law"
dàyáam _{ma}	dàyāam-nám _a	dàyāam-	"woman's <i>id</i> "

ga|sɛ

dèɛg _a	dèɛs	dè-	"warthog"
nwādɪg _a ´	nwādɪs´	nwād-	"moon, month"
bù-dìbɪg _a	-dìbɪs	-dìb-	"male kid"
kōlɪg _a	kōlɪs	kòl-	"river"
kpòkparɪg _a	kpòkparɪs	kpòkpar-	"palm tree"
pūsɪg _a ´	pūsɪs´	pūs-	"tamarind"

After **aa iə uə**, **g** is deleted, with vowel fusion; sg **ĩa ũa** correspond to pl **ěɛs ǔɔs**.

bāa	bāas	bà-	"dog"
sīa	sīəs	sjà-	"waist"
sàbùa	sàbùəs	sàbɹà-	"lover, girlfriend"
nū'-ín'a	-ên'əs	-én'-	"fingernail"
nūa´	nōɔs´	nō-	"hen"

After **a ɪa ɹa**, **g** is deleted and the vowel is glottalised.

After short root vowels **gg** -> **k**; elsewhere, **gg** is replaced by **ŋ**:

gìk _a	gìgɪs	gìg-	"dumb person"
zàk _a	zà'as	zà'-	"compound"
bèrɪŋ _a	bèrɪgɪs		"kenaf"
yáaŋ _a	yáas *yaagɛ	yāaŋ-	"grandchild"

Naden has *kariŋ* pl *kariŋis* "nit, head louse." **Vúəŋ_a** "red kapok" has acquired the pl **vūəmís** by analogy; cf **vúər** ***vuəgrɛ** "red kapok fruit."

mg/ng -> ŋ; ms -> ns, always or optionally, except in a few root-stems;
subsequently ns -> s, with nasalisation and lengthening of preceding root vowels:

bùŋ _a	bòmɪs	bùŋ-	"donkey"
nāŋ _a	nāmɪs	nàŋ-	"scorpion"
sú'əŋ _a	sū'əmɪs	sū'əŋ-	"hare"
tēŋ _a	tēɛŋs	tèŋ-	"land"
pàŋ _a	pàaŋs	pàŋ-	"power"
nīŋ _a	nīs/nīimɪs	nīŋ-	"bird"
kùlìŋ _a	kùlɪ(m)ɪs	kùlìŋ-	"door"
pīəsíŋ _a	pīəsí(m)ɪs	pīəsíŋ-	"sponge"
mēədīŋ _a	mēədī(m)ɪs	mēədīŋ-	"building tool"

Some root-stems with rounded root vowels show sg **gɔ** for **ga**:

kūug _{a/ɔ} '	kūs'	kū-	"mouse"
sù'ug _{a/ɔ}	sù'us	sù'-	"knife"
nû'ug _ɔ	nû'us	nû'-	"hand"
zùnzòŋ _{a/ɔ}	zùnzòŋs	zùnzòŋ-	"blind person"
yù'ug _ɔ	yù'umɪs	yù'ug-	"night"
zùuŋ _ɔ	zùuŋs/zùuŋd	zùŋ-	"vulture"

For unclear reasons, so does pē'og_ɔ' "sheep", pl pē'es', cif pē'-.

Some original **gɔ|de** m-stems show **se** rather than **aa** in place of pl **de**:

yàmmùg _{a/ɔ}	yàmmɪs	yàm-	"slave"
à dàalúŋ _ɔ	à dàalí(m)ɪs	à dàalúŋ-	"stork"
sí'ug _ɔ	sī'imɪs	sī'ug-	kind of big dish
dìusúŋ _ɔ	dìusís/dìusímà	dìusúŋ-	"spoon"
wīlusúŋ _ɔ	wīlumɪs <i>sic</i>	wīlusúŋ-	kind of snail
yālusúŋ _ɔ	yālumɪs <i>sic</i>	yālusúŋ-	"quail"

Some human-reference nouns have alternative pls with **ba**:

dàsāŋ _a	dàsām _{ma} /dàsāaŋs	dàsàŋ-	"young man"
Sà-dàbùà	-dàbùəb _a /-dàbùə		clan name
Yàaŋ _a	Yàam _{ma}	Yàaŋ-	"Yansi person"
	or Yàamɪs/Yàaŋs		

Various phonological irregularities appear in

bīig _a	bīis	bī-/bì-	"child"
būtīŋ _a	būtīis	bùtìŋ-	"cup"
sāŋá	sānsá [sansa]	sān-	"time"

gɔ|de

Before gɔ/kɔ/ŋɔ stem-final vowels are rounded, changing epenthetic ɪ to ʊ and creating rounding diphthongs from root vowels.

dàʊg _ɔ	dàad	dà-	"piece of wood"
fēn'og _ɔ '	fēn'ed'	fēn'-	"ulcer"
gbè'og _ɔ	gbè'ed/gbèdà	gbè'-	"forehead"
dàbīog _ɔ	dàbīəd	dàbjà-	"coward"
vīug _ɔ '	vīid'	vī-	"owl"
mōog _ɔ	mōod	mò-	"grass, bush"
wābug _ɔ '	wābʊd'	wāb-	"elephant"
bālērʊg _ɔ '	bālērʊd'/bālērʊs'	bālér-	"ugly person"
bēsʊg _ɔ	bēsʊd	bès-	kind of pot

Some stems ending in root vowels have pl **CVt**:

dòog _ɔ	dòod/dòt	dò-	"hut"
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So too pōog_ɔ' "farm, field", fūug_ɔ' "clothing, shirt." Exceptionally, the sg has a short vowel in zūg_ɔ' "head", pl zūt', cif zū(g)-.

gg -> k and ɤakɔ -> okɔ; g is deleted after a ɤa ɤa:

dūk _ɔ '	dūgʊd'	dūg-	"cooking pot"
lāɤk _ɔ	lā'ad	là'-	"(item of) goods"
bɤāɤŋk _ɔ	bɤān'ad W bɤān'adā S	bɤān'-	"shoulder"
lòk _ɔ	lò'ad	lɤà'-	"quiver (for arrows)"

dd -> t; ld -> nn:

ùdʊg _ɔ	ùt	ùd-	"(piece of) chaff"
zōlʊg _ɔ '	zōn _n '	zōl-	"fool"
sìlʊg _ɔ	sìn _n /sìl _{ts}	sìl-	"hawk"

mg/ng -> ŋ, with remodelled cifs; m/n-stems use aa instead of de, except in *yammid* "slavery" and *làṅgáṅṅ* (or *màṅgáṅṅ*) "crab", pl *làṅgāamá* or *làṅgáam_n*.

<i>gbàṅṅ</i>	<i>gbàná</i>	<i>gbàn-/gbàṅṅ-</i>	"book"
<i>zīnzāṅṅ'</i>	<i>zīnzāná</i>	<i>zīnzáṅṅ-</i>	"bat"
<i>ànrùṅṅ</i>	<i>ànrímà</i>	<i>ànrùṅ-</i>	"boat"
<i>nìn-gbīṅṅ'</i>	<i>-gbīná</i>	<i>-gbīṅ-</i>	"body"

Most 3-mora-stem gerunds belong to this noun class. N-stems never assimilate *ng* -> ŋ, and m-stems optionally resist *mg* -> ŋ: thus *dìḡṅṅ* "lying down", *sùnnùḡṅ* "bowing the head", *sàṅ'ṅṅ/sàṅ'amùḡṅ* "destroying", *kàrùḡṅ/kàrímùḡṅ* "reading." All pls take aa:

<i>bū'əsúḡṅ</i>	<i>bū'əsá</i>	<i>bū'əs-</i>	"question"
<i>zàaṅsúḡṅ</i>	<i>zàaṅsímà</i>	<i>zàaṅsúḡ-</i>	"dream"

The place name *Dèṅṅ* "Denugu" also fails to assimilate *ng*.

re|aa

<i>kūḡṅr'</i>	<i>kūḡá</i>	<i>kūḡ-</i>	"stone"
<i>yūḡṅdīr</i>	<i>yūḡṅdā</i>	<i>yūḡṅd-</i>	"hedgehog"
<i>nóbīr</i>	<i>nóbá</i>	<i>nób-</i>	"leg"
<i>bìṅ'isīr</i>	<i>bìṅ'isà</i>	<i>bìṅ'is-</i>	"woman's breast"
<i>bàlāṅīr</i>	<i>bàlāṅà</i>	<i>bàlāṅ-</i>	"hat"
<i>sāṅḡṅnṅīr</i>	<i>sāṅḡṅnà</i>	<i>sāṅḡṅn-</i>	"millipede"
<i>sūmmīr</i>	<i>sūmmā</i>	<i>sūm-</i>	"groundnut"

CVV- and CV'V-stems make pls CVya CVda respectively:

<i>bīər'</i>	<i>bīāyá</i>	<i>bīā-</i>	"elder same-sex sib"
<i>zūər</i>	<i>zūāyā</i>	<i>zūà-</i>	"hill"
<i>nōər'</i>	<i>nōyá</i>	<i>nō-</i>	"mouth"
<i>zōər</i>	<i>zōyā</i>	<i>zò-</i>	"tail"
<i>nyē'ēr'</i>	<i>nyēdá</i>	<i>nyē'-</i>	"next-younger sibling"
<i>pòṅ'ər</i>	<i>pòṅdà</i>	<i>pòṅ'-</i>	"cripple"
<i>yō'ər'</i>	<i>yōdá</i>	<i>yō'-</i>	"name"
<i>yū'ər</i>	<i>yūādā</i>	<i>yù'ər- sic</i>	"penis"

Stems in *ag jag uag* may make analogical forms in *-d-*:

bà'ar	bà'a/bàdà	bà'-	"idol" (Farefare <i>bagrɛ</i>)
sjà'ar	sjà'a	sjà'-	"forest"
bjàń'ar'	bjàń'a	bjàń'-	"wet mud, riverbed"
mù'ar	mù'a(dà)	mùà'-	"lake"
zàŋkù'ar	zàŋkù'a(dà)	zàŋkùà'-	"hyena"

Kī-dâ'ar "bought millet" has pl *kī-dá'adà* W despite having no underlying *g*.

Stems with deleted *g* after a long vowel include fusion-verb gerunds like *gbán'ar* from *gbān'e'* "grab", and also

vúər	vūáa	vūə-	"fruit of red kapok"
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Stems with a short root vowel before *rɛ* have remodelled cifs in *CVr-*:

gbēr'	gbēyá	gbēr-	"thigh"
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Stems in *m n l r* assimilate the *r* of sg *rɛ*:

dūm _n	dūmā	dùm-	"knee"
yòum _n	yòmà <i>sic</i>	yòm-	"year"
kpān _n	kpānā	kpàn-	"spear"
gélɪ	gēlá	gēl-	"egg"
kòkpàr	kòkpàrà	kòkpàr-	"palm fruit"

Irregular nouns:

dāar	dābā	dà-	"day"
(Toende <i>zat</i>)	zā'	zā-	"millet"
yīr'	yā'	yī-	"house"
Mōr'	Móom _{ma}	Mōr-	"Muslim"

Language names use the suffix *lɛ*. All forms are just the same as with sg *rɛ*, except for stems in final vowels and in *r* (where *rl* -> *t*):

Kūsāal	Kusaal	Kūsāas	Kusaasi
Bāt'	Bisa language	Bārs'	Bisa people

fɔ|u

Before pl u unrounded stem vowels become i(i).

Several nouns show CVVC/CVC root alternations §4.2.1.

kīəf _ɔ '	kī'	kī-/kā-	"millet"
(Mooré <i>muiifu</i>)	mùì	mùì-	"rice"
náaf _ɔ *naagfɔ	nīigí	nā'- *nag-	"cow"
wáaf _ɔ *waagfɔ	wīigí	wā'- *wag-	"snake"
bīəlíf _ɔ	bīilí	bīəl-/bīil-	"seed"
mòlɪf _ɔ	mòlì	mòl-	"gazelle"
nyīríf _ɔ	nyīrí	nyīr-	"egusi"

df/nf -> f:

wìəf _ɔ	wìdì	wìd-	"horse"
lā'af _ɔ	līgɪdī	là'-/līg-	"cowrie" pl "money"
nīf _ɔ '	nīnì	nīn-/nīf-	"eye"
píuf _ɔ	pīinì	pīun-	"genet"

Pīinī "gift" is used as a sg, with cif pīin-.

Some words have fɔ|u suffixes in only one number:

zīŋ _a	zīmí	zīm-	"fish"
wāɪŋ _a	wāɪs/wālí <i>sic</i>	wàl-	kind of gazelle
sībŋ _a '	sībí	sīb-	kind of termite
sīiŋf _ɔ '/sīiŋ _a '	sīiŋs'	sīŋ-	"bee"
sūŋf _ɔ '/sūuŋr'	sūnyá	sūŋ-	"heart"
kpá'ɔŋ _ɔ	kpī'iní	kpā'- <i>sic</i>	"guinea fowl"

bɔ|

sā'ab _ɔ	sà'-	"millet porridge"
kī'ɪb _ɔ '		"soap"
tāŋp _ɔ	tāŋp-	"war"

All regular gerunds of 2-mora-stem 2vbs belong to bɔ|, like dūgub_ɔ' "cooking", kādɪb_ɔ "driving off", pīɪb_ɔ "covering", kpārɪb_ɔ "locking", bāsɪb_ɔ "sending off", sōp_ɔ' "writing" (bb -> p), wūm_{mɔ} "hearing" (mb -> mm); nb does not assimilate: būɪb_ɔ "reaping." Yīs' "make emerge" has ger yīisíb_ɔ, the only 3-mora stem in bɔ|.

mɛ|

dāam´	dā-	"millet beer"
mèlɪgìm		"dew"
dū'uním	dū'un-	"urine"
dàalìm		"masculinity"
yàarìm	yàar-	"salt"
zāansím	zāans-	"soup"

M-stems are recognisable from pls/cifs, or 4-mora-stem tp L tones.

zōm´	zōm-	"flour"	
pūum´	pūum-	"flowers"	
bìn'isím		"milk"	
dàalím	dàalímis	dàalím-	"male sex organs"
pīim´	pīmá	pīm-	"arrow" §4.2.1

Pīim´ is a remnant of an old ɔ|ɛ class: cf Nawdm *fimu* "arrow", pl *fimi*.

6.2 Adjectives

Historically, adjectives took the class suffix of the head noun, which preceded in stem form. Though agreement is now lost, many adjectives still show suffixes from different classes, with no difference of meaning: "white shirt" may be *fū-píə̀lìg_a* or *fū-píə̀lɪ*. For W, gradable adjectives with sg *ga re go* successively imply less intensity, so that *fū-píə̀lìg_a* is "whiter" than *fū-píə̀lɪ*, but D specifically denied any difference.

a|ba and *fɔ|ɪ* appear with adjectives only in set expressions, *bo|* never; all cases of *mɛ|* are relics of agreement §9.7.1. Other suffixes are avoided with stems where unclear or ambiguous sfs would result, often leading to single-class adjectives.

Only two underived multi-class adjectives show both *ga|sɛ* and *go|dɛ* suffixes:

zìn'a/zèn'og _ɔ	zèn'ɛs/zèn'ɛd	zìàn'-/zèn'-	"red"
	or zèndà		
bī'a/bē'og _ɔ	bī'əs/bē'ɛd	bìà'-/bè'-	"bad"
or bē'ɛd	or bè'ɛd-nàm _a		

Other multi-class adjectives take *re|aa* and *either ga|sɛ* or *go|dɛ*.

Ga-type adjectives include:

wàbɪg _a /wàbɪr	wàbɪs/wàbà	wàb-	"lame"
vènnìg _a /vènnìr	vènnìs/vènnà	vèn-	"beautiful"
sābílìg _a /sābílɪ	sābílìs/sābúlá	sābíl-	"black"

Like *sābulíga* are *pāalíga* "new", *bàanlìga* "slim", *pièlìga* "white." *Vènlìga* "beautiful" does not use sg *re*; *wènnīr* "resembling", *záalì* "empty" do not use sg *ga*. Stems in *m n* do not use sg *re*, and stems in *s d* do not use pl *se*:

<i>dēɛŋa</i>	<i>dēɛns/dēɛmīs</i> or <i>dēɛnā</i>	<i>dēɛŋ-</i>	"first"
<i>gīŋa</i>	<i>gīmā</i>	<i>gīŋ-</i>	"short"
<i>bōgusíga/bōgusír</i>	<i>bōgusá</i>	<i>bōgūs-</i>	"soft"
<i>pòɔdìga/pòɔdír</i>	<i>pòɔdà</i>	<i>pòɔd-</i>	"few, small"

Like *bōgusír* are *mā'asír* "cool", *mālsír* "sweet", *tēbusír* "heavy", *lābusír* "wide." *Zòŋɔ* pl *zòvns/zònà* "foreign" has sg *go* for *ga* due to its rounded root vowel. Adjectives favour *ga|se* for human reference; thus *nīn-sábulis* is commoner than *nīn-sábulà* for "Africans", and *Zuà-wiis* "Red Zoose clan" has an exceptional pl *se*. *Go*-type adjectives have only the pl *aa*, except for a few 2-mora stems:

<i>nèogɔ/nèer</i>	<i>nèed/nèyà</i>	<i>nè-</i>	"empty"
<i>wìugɔ/wiir</i>	<i>wiid/wiyà</i>	<i>wì-</i>	"red"
<i>wōkɔ́/wā'ar'</i>	<i>wā'ad' /wá'a</i>	<i>wā'-/wōk-</i>	"long, tall"
<i>kōdugɔ/kōdír</i>	<i>kōt/kōdā</i>	<i>kōd-</i>	"old"
but <i>bèdugɔ/bèdír</i>	<i>bèdà</i>	<i>bèd-</i>	"great"
<i>tītā'ugɔ/tītā'ar</i>	<i>tītādā</i>	<i>tītā'-</i>	"big"

Vōr' "alive" pl *vōyá* cif *vōr-* has pl *vōt'* when heading predicative NPs. Stems in *l m n r s* do not use *re*, behaving just like *go|de* nouns with pl *aa*:

<i>sùŋɔ</i>	<i>sùmà</i>	<i>sùŋ-</i>	"good"
<i>yīɸŋɔ'</i>	<i>yīnā</i>		"single (of a pair)"
<i>kīsugɔ</i>	<i>kīsá</i>	<i>kīs-</i>	"hateful"
<i>wàɸŋɔ</i>	<i>wànà</i>	<i>wàɸŋ-</i>	"wasted, thin"
<i>kpī'ouɔ</i>	<i>kpī'əmā</i>	<i>kpī'ouŋ-</i>	"hard, strong"
<i>zùlòŋɔ</i>	<i>zùlmà</i>	<i>zùlòŋ-</i>	"deep"

Similarly *pònrugɔ* "near", *mì'isògɔ* "sour", *zēmmúgɔ* "equal", *tōsólugɔ* "hot", *lāllúgɔ* "distant", *yàlòŋɔ* "wide", *nyālúŋɔ* "wonderful", *nārúŋɔ* "necessary", and all pf deverbals in *lm*. K (not W) has alternative pf adjective forms without *m*:

<i>kpiilúŋɔ/kpiilògɔ</i>	<i>kpiilmà</i>	<i>kpiilúŋ-</i>	"dead"
<i>gēɛnlúŋɔ/gēɛnlógɔ</i>	<i>gēɛnlímà</i>	<i>gēɛnlúŋ-</i>	"tired"
<i>pè'elúŋɔ</i>	<i>pè'el(ím)à</i>	<i>pè'elúŋ-</i>	"full"

Ipf deverbals are **ga**-type for W, **gɔ**-type for K; pl is always **aa**. Stems in **g k ŋ ll mm r** are simply **rɛ|aa**.

	kūbdír	kūbdá	kūbd-	"murderous; liable to be killed"
or	kūbdíg_a/kūbdúg_ɔ			
	sīnnír/sīnníg_a	sīnná	sīn-	"silent"
	bōn-túlīgìr	-túlīgà		"heating thing"
	ñwī-tékìr	-tékà	-ték-	"pulling-rope"
	bōn-súgìr	-súgà		"helpful thing"
	tūmmír	tūmmā/tūmnā	tūm-	"working, helpful"
	kùg-dēlì´	-dēllá		"chair for leaning on"

Ipf adjectives from 4-mora **m**-stems take sg **ga** or **gɔ** (never **rɛ**), pl **aa**; they may drop **m** in the pl: **nīn-pú'alìg_a** pl **nīn-pú'alìmà** "harmful person"; **nīn-záańsùg_ɔ** pl **nīn-záańsà** "dreamy person."

Several adjectives are single-class without any phonological explanation (some reflecting the class of typical heads, or the pejorative sense of **gɔ|dɛ**):

ga sɛ	pūāk_a	pū'as	pūà'-	"female" (human)
	ńyá'aŋ_a	ńyá'as/ńyā'amís	ńyā'aŋ-	"female" (animal)
	ńyèesíg_a	ńyèensís	ńyèesíg-	"confident"
gɔ dɛ	dāug_ɔ	dāad	dà-	"male"
	tōog_ɔ	tōod	tò-	"bitter"
	lām-fōog_ɔ	lām-fōod		"toothless"
	màuk_ɔ	mà'ad		"crumpled up"
	ńyàuk_ɔ	ńyà'ad		"single (of an eye)"
	mì'isùg_ɔ	mì'isà	mì'is-	"sour"
	zū-péelùg_ɔ	zū-péelà		"bald"
rɛ aa	bíəlì	bīelá		"naked"
	yīmmír	yīmmá	yīm-	"unique, sole"

Like **ńyèesíg_a** are **vèńllíg_a** "beautiful", **mālisíg_a** "pleasant", **lāllíg_a** "distant."

bīl_a	bībɪs	bì(l)-	"little"
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la is an old diminutive-class sg suffix: cf Mooré *bi-pugla* "girl", *bullá* "kid."

6.3 Verbs

[Discontinuous-past **n** and 2pS **ya/n** are not flexions but enclitics §5.4.]

Two-aspect verbs (2vbs) are the great majority; the flexions are pf **ε**, ipf **da**.

2vbs carrying the m/c tone overlay show the flexion **ma** in the imperative §10.6.

Pf, ipf, m/c-imp will be cited in order. Straightforward examples are

gòṅ	gòṅd _a	gòṅm _a	"hunt"
kṛà	kṛəd _a	kṛəm _a	"cut"
pṛiān'	pṛiān'ad _a '	pṛiān'am _a	"speak; praise"
yādṛg'	yādṛgíd _a	yādṛgim _a	"scatter"
nōk'	nōkíd _a	nōkìm _a	"take"
gāṅ'	gāṅíd _a	gāṅim _a	"choose"
kpàr	kpàríd _a	kpàrim _a	"lock"
sīgṛs'	sīgṛsíd _a	sīgṛsìm _a	"lower"
kōt'	kōtíd _a	kōtìm _a	"slaughter"

Some stems ending in root vowels show **CV**- allomorphs in ipf/imp, with **t** for **d**:

dì	dìt _a	dìm _a	"eat"
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Likewise **nyē** "see", **lì/lù** "fall", **dū** "go up", **yī** "go/come out", **zò** "run."
dd -> t; ld -> nn:

bùd	bùt _a	bùdım _a	"plant"
gàad	gàt _a <i>sic</i>	gàadım _a	"(sur)pass"
vōl	vōn _{na} '	vòlım _a	"swallow"
màal	màan _{na}	màalım _a	"make"
dīgıł'	dīgın _{na}	dìgılim _a	"lay down"

In B3, **d**-stems may have variant ipfs in *-tid*, e.g. *satid* Is 19:14 (*sad* "slip.")

Only 2-mora **b**-stems assimilate **bm** -> **mm**:

lèb	lèbıd _a	lèm _{ma}	"return"
liəb	liəbıd _a	liəbım _a	"become"

Only 2-mora **n**-stems show **nd** -> **nn**:

bùn	bùn _{na}	bùnım _a	"reap"
gò'òn	gò'ònd _a	gò'ònım _a	"extend neck"

dìgɔn	dìgɔnìd _a	dìgɔnìm _a	"lie down"
sùn _n	sùnnìd _a	sùnnìm _a	"bow head"

4-mora *m*-stems always assimilate *md* -> *mm*, while 3-mora *m*-stems assimilate optionally; 2-mora stems regularly assimilate, though B3 sometimes has unassimilated forms to avoid ambiguity (e.g *tumid* Is 30:1.)

sìilìm	sìilìm _{ma}	sìilìm _{ma}	"cite proverbs"
lāŋím	lāŋím _{ma}	lāŋìm _{ma}	"wander searching"
kàrɪm	kàrìm _{ma} /kàrɪmìd _a	kàrìm _{ma}	"read"
tṵɔm´	tṵɔm _{ma} /tṵɔmìd _a	tṵɔm _{ma}	"depart"
tùm	tùm _{ma}	tùm _{ma}	"work"

Like *tùm* are *wùm* "hear", *kùm* "tend a flock or herd", *dùm* "bite."

mm-stems only assimilate in the imperative:

lèm	lèmmìd _a	lèm _{ma}	"sip, taste"
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[cf Mooré *lembe*.] Like *lèm* are *tàm* "forget", *zàm* "cheat, betray", *dàm* "shake."

Fusion verbs delete *g* after *aa iə uə* §4.2.2. The tonal effect of this *g* is seen in gerunds §4.3.1, but not in ipfs, agent nouns, or pfs before liaison.

fāen´	fāanìd _a ´	fāanm _a	"save"
dī'e´	dī'əd _a ´	dī'əm _a	"get, receive"
pūn'e´	pūn'əd _a ´	pūn'əm _a	"rot" W

In B1 *pūn'e´* forms an ipf from the root: *pon'od* *pōn'od_a´*. A few other 2vbs likewise drop a derivational suffix in the ipf, e.g.

wìk §4.2.1	wìid _a	wìkìm _a	"fetch water"
īānìk´	īān'ad _a ´	īānìkìm _a	"leap, fly"
gīlɪg´	gīn _{na} ´	gìlɪgìm _a	"go around"
kēŋ´	kēn _{na} ´	kēm _a <i>sic</i>	"go"
yèl	yèt _a	yèlìm _a	"say"
gṵs	gṵsìd _a ´/gṵt _a ´	gṵ(s)ìm _a	"look"
tìs/tì·	tìsìd _a /tìt _a	tìsìm _a	"give"

Only two verbs have irregular flexional suffixes:

kē	kēt _a ´	kèl _a	"let, allow"
kēn	kēn _a ´	kēm _a	"come"

One-aspect verbs (1vbs) number about sixty. The sole finite form is ipf.

Most transitive 1vbs express relationships. "Quality" verbs have predicative adjectival meanings; most are deadjectival §7.3. Other 1vbs express stances or bodily activities.

Six 1vbs have the flexion ε : $m\bar{i}$ "know", $z\bar{i}$ "not know", $b\bar{e}$ "exist", $k\bar{a}'\bar{e}$ "not be", $t\bar{u}\bar{n}'e$ "be able", $n\bar{o}\eta$ "love." M/c-pf $y\bar{a}$ never follows. The tone sandhi is ipf type §5.2:

Ka dau daa be yaadin	"There was a man among the graves"
Kà dāy dāa bé yáadī·n	Mk 5:2 B2
and man TNS exist grave.PL·at	

$N\bar{o}\eta$ is the only 1vb with a m/c-imp: $n\bar{o}\eta\bar{i}m_a$. The agent noun $n\bar{o}\eta\bar{i}d_a$ is tp L, despite being formed with **d** (but cf Mooré *noanga*.)

Most 1vbs have the flexion **ya**, e.g. $\bar{a}\bar{e}\eta\bar{y}_a$ "be something", $t\bar{o}\bar{e}y_a'$ "be bitter", $d\bar{i}g\bar{y}_a'$ "lie down", $v\bar{a}b\bar{y}_a'$ "lie prone." Long vowels undergo second-mora fronting before **ya**, e.g. $w\bar{a}'e_ya$ "travel", $s\bar{o}\bar{n}'e_ya'$ "be better than." There is assimilation of **dy** -> **r**, **ly** -> **ll**, **my** -> **mm**, **ny** -> **nn**, **sy** -> **s**, e.g. $m\bar{o}r_a'$ "have", $d\bar{e}l\bar{l}_a'$ "(person) lean", $s\bar{u}m_{ma}$ "be good", $n\bar{e}n_{na}'$ "envy", $k\bar{i}s_a'$ "hate." Any consonant assimilations are carried over into deverbal nominals, and derivational **d** is dropped. 3-mora stems take **a**, e.g. $p\bar{o}o_d_a$ "be few", $k\bar{p}\bar{i}'\bar{e}m_a'$ "be strong", $z\bar{u}l\bar{u}m_a$ "be deep", $m\bar{a}'a_s_a'$ "be cool." W doubles stem-final **m** by analogy, with no tone change: lf $k\bar{p}\bar{i}'\bar{e}m\bar{m}\bar{a}$ "be strong."

"Stance" 1vbs with unassimilated **y** have stem gerunds and deverbal nominals with **d** like 2vbs. Some speakers inflect these verbs with the suffix **-da** for the "propensity" ipf sense, while others use the derived inchoative 2vbs in **n** §7.4:

$\bar{O} z\bar{i}\bar{n}'i n\bar{e}.$	"She's sitting down." ($z\bar{i}\bar{n}'i_ya$)
$\bar{O} p\bar{u} z\bar{i}\bar{n}'id\bar{a}/z\bar{i}\bar{n}'in\bar{i}d\bar{a}.$	"She doesn't sit down" W/K
$\bar{O} v\bar{a}b\bar{i} n\bar{e}.$	"He's lying prone."
$\bar{O} p\bar{u} v\bar{a}b\bar{i}d\bar{a}/v\bar{a}b\bar{u}n\bar{i}d\bar{a}.$	"He doesn't lie prone." W/K
$\bar{O} d\bar{i}g\bar{i} n\bar{e}.$	"She's lying down."
$\bar{O} p\bar{u} d\bar{i}g\bar{i}d\bar{a}.$	"She doesn't lie down" W
$L\bar{i} z\bar{i}'\bar{e} n\bar{e}.$	"It's standing up." ($z\bar{i}'e_ya$)
$L\bar{i} p\bar{u} z\bar{i}'\bar{e}d\bar{a}.$	"It (defective tripod) won't stand up." W
$L\bar{i} t\bar{i}'i n\bar{e}.$	"It's leaning." ($t\bar{i}'i_ya'$)
$L\bar{i} t\bar{i}'id.$	"It can be leant." W
$L\bar{i} p\bar{u} t\bar{i}'iy\bar{a}.$	"It's not leaning."
$L\bar{i} p\bar{u} t\bar{i}'id\bar{a}.$	"It's not for leaning." W

$B\bar{o}o_d_a$ "want", $z\bar{o}t_a$ "fear" arose from the ipfs of the 2vbs $b\bar{o}$ "seek", $z\bar{o}$ "run." *Tu'ae* "be near" B is probably $t\bar{u}'e_ya'$ * $t\bar{o}g_ya$; cf Mooré *toge* "travel."

7 Derivation

Derivation may be by stem conversion or by the addition of a derivational suffix **b d g l m n** or **s**. Nominal stems may add a further **d** or **m** or the combination **lm**; verb stems, only a further **m**. *Kābur'* "ask entry", *sūgur'* "forbear" are back-formations from *kāburí sūguró*, rather than derived with **r**. For tps in derivation see §4.3.3.

7.1 Nominals from nominals

Associations of noun class and meaning can be exploited by inflecting stems in different classes, e.g. *zùà* "friend", *zùəd* "friendship"; *sīñf_o'* "bee", *sīñd_o'* "honey"; *wèəd_a* "hunter", *wèog_o* "deep bush." Most tree names are *ga|sɛ*, and their fruits *rɛ|aa* or *gɔ|dɛ*, e.g. *āandīg_a* "black plum tree", *āandīr* "black plum"; *gāañ'* "jackalberry tree", *gāñr'* "jackalberry"; *tè'eg_a* "baobab", *tè'og_o* "baobab fruit." Similarly, ethnic group names, their languages and the places they inhabit share stems §9.3.

Adjective stems form abstract nouns in *mɛ|* or (especially if the adjective uses sg *gɔ*) with sg *gɔ*, e.g. *vōm'* "life" (*vōr'* "live"), *piəlīm* "brightness" (*piəlīg_a* "white"), *mālsím* "sweetness", *tītā'am* "multitude" (*tītā'ar* "great"); *lāllóg_o* "far/distance", *kpī'og_o* "hard/hardness", *yàlòg_o* "wide/width", *mì'isùg_o* "sour/sourness", *tōg_o* "bitter/bitterness." Some human-reference nouns form similar abstracts: *gbányà'am* "laziness" (*gbányà'a* "lazy person"), *dàmà'am* "deceit" (*dàmà'a* "liar"), *tītā'alīm* "pride" (*tītā'al_l* "proud person"); *sávog_o* "hospitality" (*sāan_a'* "guest"), *kpēonog_o* "eldership" (*kpēēnm* "elder"), *sōōng_o* "witchcraft" (*sōēñ_{ya}* "witch.")

Adjective stems form manner nouns in *mɛ|* or with apocope-blocked sg *ga*, e.g. *bāañlīm* "quietly", *zāalīm* "in vain", *kōdīm* "of old", *pāalīm* "recently", *nèēm* "for free" (*nèēr* "empty"); *sùñā'* "well", *mā'asígā'* "coolly", *tōvlígā'* "hotly", *gīñā* "shortly", *bōgvsígā'* "softly", *sàalíñā'* "smoothly", *nyèēsíñā'* "confidently."

Nominals may be derived from nominals with derivational **d m s** or **l(m)**. **d** is unanalysable in *yūgvdīr* "hedgehog", *lā'af_o* "cowrie" pl *līgvdī* "money", *pùgvdīb_a* "father's sister." Naden has abstracts from human-reference nouns like *ba'abiidv_g* "brotherhood", *dataadim/dataadv_g* "enmity", *pvkōntim* "widowhood"; *gētīm* "folly" (*gēdv_g* "fool"), *pu'asatīm* "girlhood", *bvñkvtīm* "old age" could be formed with **l**.

m is unanalysable in *yōgúm_n* "camel" (of Berber origin), *gbīgīm_n* "lion", *zìlīm_n* "tongue", *ànrvòg_o* "boat." It is often added to stems of adjectives/quality verbs with no change in sense, as with e.g. *mālsíg_a/mālsíñ_a* "sweet", *kpīlòg_o/kpīlóló_o* "dead" K, *nārúg_o* "necessary" (*nār_a'* "be needed"), *nyèēsíñ_a* "confident" (*nyèēs_a* "be confident"), *wā'am_a'* "be long" (*wōk_o'* "long.") It is identifiable as a derivational suffix in

ánsɪb _a	"mother's brother"	ānsíŋ _a	"sister's child"
bī'a	"bad"	bī'əm	"enemy"
bìñ'isìr	"breast"	bìñ'isím	"milk"
nà'ab _a	"chief"	nā'am	"chieftaincy"
zōlɔg _o '	"fool"	zōlímís	"foolishness"

Several basic adjective stems show the suffixes **m** or **s**, e.g. zùlòŋ_o "deep", yàlòŋ_o "wide", bōgɔsír "soft", mā'asír "cool", mì'isòg_o "sour"; there are 2vbs derived directly from their roots, but the roots are themselves adjectival.

l and **lm** derive abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives; **lm** is unique in not forcing preceding **CVVC** roots to become **CVC**, and it can be added after a preceding suffix, creating 5-mora stems. The stems of these nouns are not used as adjectives.

bīig _a	"child"	bìilím	"childhood"
dāu	"man"	dàalím	"masculinity"
pūā'	"woman"	pù'alím	"femininity"
sāan _a '	"guest, stranger"	sáanním	"strangerhood"
tīrāan _a	"peer"	tīrāanním	"companionship"
wōk _o '	"long, tall"	wā'alím	"tallness"

7.2 Nominals from verbs

7.2.1 Gerunds

Gerunds exist for almost all verbs: abstract nouns expressing the process, event or state described by the verb. 2vb gerunds are formed by adding the following sg noun class suffixes to the verb stem:

2-mora stems		bɔ (rɛ as final part of a compound)	
3-mora stems in g k ŋ ae ie ue		rɛ	
all others		gɔ	
kōɔb _o '	"kill (kō)"	dōgɔb _o '	"cook (dōg)"
dō'ab _o	"bear, beget (dūà)"	kādɪb _o	"drive off (kàd)"
pīlɪb _o	"cover (pìl)"	kpārɪb _o	"lock (kpàr)"
bāsɪb _o	"go/send away (bàs)"	lōp _o '	"throw stones at (lōb)"
kīm _{mɔ}	"tend flock/herd (kìm)"	būnɪb _o	"reap (bùn)"
yùugìr	"delay (yùug)"	nōkír	"take (nōk')"
nìŋìr	"doing (nìŋ)"	gbān'ar	"grab (gbān'e')"
dí'ər	"get (dī'e')"	dúər	"rise (dūe')"

gàadùg_o	"pass (gàad)"	liəbùg_o	"become (liəb)"
dīgɪlúg_o	"lay down (dīgɪl)"	yāarúg_o	"scatter (yāar)"
sīgɪsúg_o	"lower (sīgɪs)"	dàmmùg_o	"shake (dàm)" (mm-stem)
dìgɪnùg_o	"lie down (dìgɪn)"	zìn'inùg_o	"sit down (zìn'in)"
sàn'ɔŋ_o	"destroy (sàn'am)"	kàrùŋ_o	"read (kàrɪm)"
or sàn'amùg_o		or kàrɪmùg_o	

4-mora stems in **sm lm** use sg **g_o**, but stems in **gm km ŋm** drop **m** and use sg **rɛ**:

sìilúŋ_o	"cite proverbs (sìilɪm)"	zàaŋsúŋ_o	"dream (zàaŋsɪm)"
wàŋɪr	"waste away (wàŋɪm)"	zàkɪr	"itch (zàkɪm)"

In compounds, 2-mora stems use sg **rɛ**, not **b_o**, e.g. **puà'-dīr** "marriage", **nīn-kôur** "murder", **dā-nūur** "beer-drinking", **mò-pīlɪ** "grass roof."

Almost all irregularities in 2vb gerund formation involve 2-mora stems using suffixes other than sg **b_o**; a few of these forms are also tonally irregular.

liiga	"fall (li)"	zūa/zōog_o	"run (zò)"
vūug_o'	"make noise (vū)"	pjāuŋk_o	"speak (pjān')"
bōdɪga	"plant (bòd)"	kūlɪga'	"go home (kūl)"
or bōdug_o		or kūlug_o'	
yèlug_o	"say, tell (yèl)"	tànsug_o	"shout (tàns)"
sónsɪga	"converse (sōns)"	gósɪga	"look (gōs)"
sōsɪga	"pray, beg (sòs)"	kìkírug_o	"hurry (kīr)" (also regular)
lēbɪga	"return (lèb)"	tēbɪga	"carry in both hands (tèb)"
tènbug_o	"tremble (tènɔb)"	kānbɪr	"scorch (kànb)"
ōnbɪr	"chew (ōnb)"	lūbɪr'	"buck (lūb)"
zàbɪr	"fight (zàb)"		

A few 2vb gerunds are formally plural, e.g. **gēɛŋmís** "go mad (**gēɛŋm'**)", **bùdɪmís** "get confused (**bùdɪm**)", **tìtōmɪs** "send (**tòm**)", **bēn'ɛs** "fall ill (**bèn'**)", **kēn_n'** "come (**kēn**)", **zīid'** "carry on the head (**zī**)."

Stance verbs with unassimilated **y** form root gerunds in various noun classes:

zīn'iga	"sit (zìn'iya)"	tī'ib_o'	"lean (tī'iya')"
zī'ɛga/zī'a	"stand (zì'eya)" K/W	dīka'/dīgɪr'	"lie down (dīgɪya')" K/W
īka'/igɪr'	"kneel (igɪya')" K/W	vāp_o'/vābɪr'	"lie prone (vābɪya')" K/W

Zī'ɛga is phonologically aberrant §4.2.2. The 1vbs **tènra** "remember", **pònr_a** "be near" have **tēnrɪb_o** **pōnrɪb_o** by analogy with 2vbs; **kīs_a'** "hate" forms **kísug_o**.

Other 1vb gerunds suffix **lm** after root vowels, **m** otherwise, and belong to **mɛ|**.

mī'ilím	"know (mī')"	zī'ulím	"not know (zī')"
àańlím	"be (àeń_{ya})"	bèllím sic	"exist (bè')"
kā'alím	"not be (kā'e)"	sū'ulím	"own (sū'e_{ya}')"
nēnním	"envy (nēn_{na}')"	sīnním	"be silent (sīn_{na}')"
wēnním sic	"be like (wēn_{na}')"	dēllím	"lean (dēl_{la}')"; also dēllóg_o
dōllím	"go with (dōl_{la}')"	zāńllím	"hold in hand (zāńl_{la}')"
gūrím	"guard (gūr_a')"	mōrím	"have (mōr_a')"
tārím	"have (tār_a')"	nārím	"be necessary (nār_a')"
tōllím	"be hot (tōl_{la}')"		

-tāa "companion in ... ing" follows a **m**-stem gerund cif.

2vbs here add **m** to the ipf verbal adjective stem, but with gerund tones:

dì	"eat"	dìtím-tāa	"messmate"
kpèń'	"enter"	kpèń'edím-	"co-resident"
zàb	"fight"	zàbúdím-	"opponent"
tòm	"work"	tòmím-	"co-worker"
pè'us	"worship"	pè'usím-	"co-worshipper"
sùŋ	"help"	sùŋ(ìd)ím-	"co-helper"
sjàk	"agree"	sjàkím-	"partner in agreement"

Similarly **mèedím-** (**mè** "build"), **pōvdím-** (**pō** "share"), **fāandím-** (**fān** "rob"), **dōgvdím-** (**dōg** "cook"), **dìsím-** (**dìs** "feed.")

1vbs with **m**-stem gerunds in **mɛ|** use them here:

bè	"exist"	bèllím-tāa	"partner in existence" W
mī'	"know"	mī'ilím-	"partner in knowledge"

Similarly **zī'ulím-tāa** "partner in ignorance", **dōllím-tāa** "fellow-companion."

For stance verbs, W has forms in both **-dm-** and **-lm-**:

zì'e_{ya}	"stand"	zì'elím-tāa	"co-stander"
		zì'edím-	

Similarly **zìń'ilím-/zìń'idím-** (**zìń'i_{ya}** "sit"), **vābulím-/vābúdím-** (**vāb_{ya}'** "lie prone"), **īgúlím-/īgúdím-** (**īg_{ya}'** "kneel"), but only **lābulím-** (**lāb_{ya}** "crouch in hiding.") For **dīg_{ya}'** "lie down", W has **dīgúlím-**, and also **dìgúním-**, presumably from **dìgún**.

W contrasts **nòŋlím-tāa** "fellow liker", **nòŋdím-tāa** "fellow lover" (**nòŋ** "love.")

Some abstract nouns are formed from 2vb ipfs; here *s*-stems drop *d*. These are not *m*-stems, and if tp L, they have no stem-final H. Most belong to *me|*.

<i>bòɔ̀dìm</i>	"will (<i>bòɔ̀d_a</i>)"	<i>gòɔ̀ndìm</i>	"wandering (<i>gòɔ̀nd_a</i>)"
<i>zòtìm</i>	"fear (<i>zòt_a</i>)"	<i>yòlìsím</i>	"freedom (<i>yòlìs´</i>)"
<i>nīn-kúɔ̀sìm</i>	"murder (<i>kū</i>)"	<i>pù'ɔ̀sìm</i>	"worship (<i>pù'ɔ̀s</i>)"
<i>wòm̀m̀gɔ̀</i>	"hearing (<i>wòm</i>)"		

Gerunds are abstract, but derived concrete senses appear in *dūbɔ̀* "food", *zīn'ig_a* "place"; for K, *vābír´* *lābír´* *dīgír´* *īgír´* mean "place for lying prone" etc, contrasting with the gerunds *vāpɔ̀´* etc. Verb stems with different class suffixes from gerunds may refer to products of actions, instruments, or places where actions occur:

<i>dūg</i>	"cook"	<i>dūkɔ̀´</i>	"cooking pot"
<i>dà'</i>	"buy"	<i>dà'a</i>	"market"
<i>kùd</i>	"work iron"	<i>kūt</i>	"iron, nail"
<i>sōb</i>	"write"	<i>sōbír´</i>	"piece of writing"
<i>sūā'</i>	"hide"	<i>sūāk_a´</i>	"hiding place"
<i>ēɛnɔ̀b´</i>	"lay a foundation"	<i>ēɛnɔ̀bír</i>	"(physical) foundation"
<i>kùəs</i>	"sell"	<i>kùəsìm</i>	"merchandise"
<i>pèbɔ̀s</i>	"blow (wind)"	<i>pèbɔ̀sìm</i>	"wind"

7.2.2 Agent nouns

Agent nouns can be made from almost all verbs usable in direct commands, even where the subject is not an agent: the sense resembles English *-er*. They often develop specialised meanings. All are *a|ba*, but *ll*- and *r*-stems also have *re|aa* forms. Agent nouns and ipf verbal adjectives are formed with *d*. There is a tendency to limit stem length, with deletion of *d* or of the preceding suffix; loss of *d* affects tps §4.3.3.

Most 2vbs have an agent noun with sg segmentally identical to the ipf; if there are alternate forms, the less regular appears in the agent noun.

<i>mè</i>	"build"	<i>mēɛd_a</i>	"builder"
<i>dì</i>	"eat"	<i>dīt_a</i>	"eater"
<i>dūg</i>	"cook"	<i>dūgɔ̀d_a´</i>	"cook"
<i>dūà'</i>	"bear, beget"	<i>dū'ad_a</i>	"relative"
<i>kàd</i>	"drive away"	<i>sàríyà-kāt_a</i>	"judge"
<i>gàad</i>	"pass"	<i>tùən-gāt_a</i>	"leader"
<i>sōb</i>	"write"	<i>sōbɔ̀d_a´</i>	"writer"
<i>kpàr</i>	"lock"	<i>kpārɔ̀d_a</i>	"lock-er"
<i>sūgɔ̀r´</i>	"forbear"	<i>sūgɔ̀ríd_a</i>	"forgiver"

gbīs	"sleep"	gbīsɪd _a '	"sleeper"
gōs	"look"	gōt _a '	"seer, prophet"
pà'al	"teach"	pā'an _{na}	"teacher"
tùm	"work"	tùm-tūm _{na}	"worker"
sàn'am	"spoil"	pɔ̀à'-sān'am _{ma}	"adulterer"
bùn	"reap"	būn _{na}	"reaper"

3-mora stems in underlying **g** only form agent nouns if the **g** is assimilated or deleted; tp H fusion-verb agent nouns show initial M like ipfs (not gerunds.)

nāe'	"finish"	nāad _a '	"persister" W
nwà'e	"cut wood"	nwā'ad _a	"woodcutter"
dī'e'	"receive"	dī'əd _a '	"receiver"
sùŋ	"help"	sūŋɪd _a	"helper"
sjàk	"believe"	sjàkɪd _a	"believer"
tēk'	"pull"	nwī-ték _a	"rope-puller"
kēŋ'	"go"	kēn _{na} '	"traveller"
jànk'	"jump, fly"	jàn'ad _a '	"flier"
yādɪg'	"scatter"	yāt _a '	participant in a housebuilding ritual

3-mora stems in **s** always drop **d** in sg and cif, as do a few 2-mora stems:

dī'əs'	"receive"	nō-dī'əs _a	"chief's spokesman"
tìs	"give"	tìs _a	"giver"
sòs	"beg"	sòs _a	"beggar"
zàb	"fight"	zàb-zàb _a	"warrior"

Stems in **mm** drop **d** and have only **nàm_a** pls, but the tones of the agent noun from **sùn_n** (ipf **sùnnìd_a**) "bow the head" show assimilation of **d**:

dàm	"shake"	dàm-dàm _{ma}	"shaker"
sùn _n	"bow head"	sūn _{na}	"deep thinker" W

For 4-mora stems **K** has no agent nouns; **W** drops **m** and proceeds as usual:

pò'alìm	"harm"	pō'an _{na}	"harmer"
sìlìm	"cite proverbs"	sīn _{na}	"speaker of proverbs"
zàansìm	"dream"	zàans _a	"dreamer"

1vbs add **d**, except after **ll nn** and sometimes **r s**:

mī'	"know"	mī'id _a '	"knower"
zī'	"not know"	zī'ıd _a '	"ignorant person"
sōñ'e _{ya} '	"be better than"	sōñ'öd _a '	"outdoer"
sū'e _{ya} '	"own"	sū'ıd _a '	"owner"
zīñ'i _{ya}	"sit"	zīñ'id _a	"sitter"
zī'e _{ya}	"stand"	zī'əd _a	"stander"
àḡñ _{ya}	"be something"	āañd _a	"someone who always is something" W
dīgı _{ya} '	"lie down"	dīgıd _a '	"lier-down"
īgı _{ya} '	"kneel"	īgıd _a '	"kneeler"
vābı _{ya} '	"lie prone"	vābıd _a '	"lier prone"
lābı _{ya}	"crouch in hiding"	lābıd _a	"croucher in hiding"
nòḡ	"love"	nòḡıd _a	"lover" (tp <i>sic</i>)
dēlı _a '	"lean"	nīn-dēlı _a	"person prone to lean"
dōlı _a '	"go with"	nyā'an-dōlı _a	"disciple"
zāñlı _a '	"hold"	nō-zāñlı _a	"holder of hens"
nēn _{na} '	"envy"	nīn-nēn _{na}	"envious person"
sīn _{na} '	"be silent"	nīn-sīn _{na}	"silent person"
mōr _a '	"have"	bù-mōr _a '	"goat-owner"
tār _a '	"have"	bù-tār _a '	"goat-owner"
gūr _a '	"guard"	gūr(ıd) _a '	"guard"
tēnr _a	"remember"	tēnrıd _a	"rememberer"
kīs _a '	"hate"	kīs(ıd) _a '	"hater"

The suffix **m** produces a few deverbal forms resembling agent nouns:

zò	"run"	zōom _n	"refugee"
kpì	"die"	kpī'ım	"corpse"

7.2.3 Verbal adjectives

Imperfective verbal adjectives have the same stem as the agent noun, but drop the **d** formant more readily. The sense is "habitually connected with the verbal action, actively or passively." Past senses are unusual, though examples occur: **sūm-dúgvà** "cooked groundnuts" W, **ziḡdvğida zīḡ-dúgvà** "cooked fish" Lk 24:42, beside the more usual *ni'im dvğida nīm-dúgvà* "meat for cooking" 1 Sm 2:15.

Uncompounded forms have the meaning of agent nouns: **kōvdír** "killer." After cifs the meanings differ: **puà'-kōvd_a'** "woman-killer" vs **puà'-kōvdír** "woman killer."

Most verbs show the same stem as in the agent noun sg/cif:

là'	"laugh"	puà'-lā'adīr	"laughing/laughable woman"
nyē	"see"	bōn-nyētīr	"visible object"
kūā	"hoe"	nā'-dā-kūədīr	"ox for ploughing"
yè	"don clothes"	fū-yéədīr/-yéədùg _o	"shirt for wearing" W/K
kū	"kill"	tì-kūbdīm	"poison" ("killing medicine")
duà'	"bear/beget"	tèŋ-dō'adīg _a	"native land"
sīg	"descend"	yī-sīgudīr	"lodging-house"
sūā'	"hide"	yēl-sū'adīr	"confidential matter"
ònb	"chew"	bōn-ónbídà	"solid food"
bùn	"reap"	bōn-búnnīr	"thing for reaping"
tòm	"work"	bōn-túmmīr	"useful thing"
vōl	"swallow"	tì-vōnním	"oral medication"
gbīs	"sleep"	puà'-gbīsīdīr	"woman always sleeping"
kēŋ´	"go"	bòŋ-kēnnīr	"donkey that doesn't sit still"
gīlŋ´	"go around"	puà'-gīnníg _a	"prostitute"
sūen´	"anoint"	kpā-sóóndīm	"anointing oil"
yādŋ´	"scatter"	bōn-yátīr	"scattering thing"
īānk´	"fly, jump"	bōn-īān'adīr	"flying creature"
sān'am	"destroy"	bò-sān'ammīr	"scapegoat" W
pèlŋs	"sharpen"	bōn-pélŋsīr	"sharpening thing"
kùəs	"sell"	bōn-kúəsīr	"item for sale"
dīg _{ya} ´	"lie down"	bòŋ-dīgudīr	"donkey that lies down a lot"
vāb _{ya} ´	"lie prone"	bòŋ-vābūdīr	"donkey always lying prone"
zín'īya	"sit"	kūg-zín'idīr	"stone for sitting on"
zānl _{la} ´	"hold in hands"	nō-zānl _l	"hen for holding"
dēl _{la} ´	"(person) lean"	kùg-dēl _l ´	"chair for leaning on"
gùl _{la}	"hang"	bōn-gùl _l	"thing for suspending"

3-mora stems in **g k ŋ** and all 4-mora stems drop **d**:

pèlŋ	"whiten"	bōn-pélŋgīr	"whitening thing, whitener"
tūlŋ´	"heat up"	bōn-túlŋgīr	"heater, thing for heating"
pàk	"surprise"	yēl-pákīr	"disaster"
tēk´	"pull"	nwī-tékīr	"pulling-rope"
sùŋ	"help"	bōn-súŋgīr	"helpful thing"
nòŋ	"love"	bì-nòŋgīr	"beloved child"
pù'alīm	"harm"	puà'-pù'alīŋ _a	"harmful woman"
sīlīm	"cite proverbs"	bōn-sīlŋg _o	"thing relating to proverbs"
zàansīm	"dream"	puà'-zàansúŋ _o	"dreamy woman"

Perfective verbal adjectives are stative, and are formed only from verbs with stative pfs. The formant **lm** is added to roots; some speakers have forms in **l** alone.

àèñ	"tear"	àaṅlúᵅ	"torn"
gēñ	"get tired"	gēēñlúᵅ	"tired"
kò	"break"	kòᵅlúᵅ	"broken"
kpì	"die"	kpìilúᵅ	"dead"
pè'el	"fill"	pè'elúᵅ	"full"
pù'alim	"harm"	pù'alúᵅ	"damaged"
yè	"wear"	yèelúᵅ	"worn" (of a shirt)
yò	"close"	yòᵅlúᵅ	"closed"

Cf also **sābúlg_a** "black" (**sōb** "darken.")

7.2.4 Instrument nouns

Instrument nouns can be created freely by adding **m** to ipf verbal adjective stems in **d t** or **s**; all are **ga|sɛ**. Some can have agent-noun meanings.

lō	"tie"	sjà-lōᵅdīᵅ _a	"belt" ("waist-tying thing")
sù	"bathe"	sūᵅdīᵅ _a	"sponge"
dōg	"cook"	dōgᵅdīᵅ _a	"cooking utensil"
sōb	"write"	sōbᵅdīᵅ _a	"writing implement"
bùd	"plant"	būᵅtīᵅ _a	"cup" (originally "seed cup")
kpàr	"lock"	kpārᵅdīᵅ _a	"thing for locking"
dā'e´	"push"	dā'adīᵅ _a	"pusher (person/thing)"
ñwà'e	"cut wood"	ñwā'adīᵅ _a	"axe"
pīe´	"wash self"	pīeᵅdīᵅ _a	"thing for washing oneself"
gōs	"look"	nīn-gótīᵅ _a	"mirror"; nīn-gótìs "glasses"
kùəs	"sell"	kūeᵅsīᵅ _a	"salesperson"
pīeᵅ´	"clean"	pīeᵅsīᵅ _a	"cleaning implement"
zìñ'iy _a	"sit"	zīñ'idīᵅ _a	"thing for sitting on"

A few instrument nouns show derivational **s** or **d** alone; here **ld** -> *single n*:

dīg _{iy_a} ´	"lie down"	dīg _{iy_a} ᵅsúᵅ	"bed"
dū	"go up"	dūᵅsír	"step"
tᵅà	"grind in mortar"	tūeᵅdīr	"mortar"
māal	"sacrifice"	māan _n	"sacrifice"
pìbul	"cover"	pībīn _n	"covering"
zānbul	"tattoo"	zānbīn _n	"tattoo"

7.3 Verbs from nominals

Quality verbs are formed by adding the flexion (y)a to adjectival or human-reference stems. Nominal tp A is reanalysed as verbal tp H, with lf-final H, not M; tp L is mapped to verbal tp A (hence all-M after *nà/kù*: *Ò nà vèn* "She'll be beautiful.") A few pairs also show segmental stem changes.

tp H	<i>vōr'</i>	"alive"	<i>vōɛya'</i>	"live"
	<i>bōgvsír</i>	"soft"	<i>bōgvs_a'</i>	"be soft"
	<i>zēm_oúg_o</i>	"equal"	<i>zēm_{ma}'</i>	"be equal to"
	<i>lāllúg_o</i>	"far"	<i>lāl_la'</i>	"be far from"
	<i>wōk_o'</i>	"long, tall"	<i>wā'am_a'</i>	"be long, tall"
	<i>tūlúg_o</i>	"hot"	<i>tūl_la'</i>	"be hot"
tp A	<i>tōg_o</i>	"bitter"	<i>tōɛya'</i>	"be bitter"
	<i>gīŋ_a</i>	"short"	<i>gīm_{ma}'</i>	"be short"
	<i>kpī'oŋ_o</i>	"strong"	<i>kpī'əm_a'</i>	"be strong"
	<i>kpēɛn_m</i>	"elder"	<i>kpēɛn_{ma}'</i>	"be older than"
	<i>wēnnīr</i>	"resembling"	<i>wēn_{na}'</i>	"be like"
tp L	<i>pòdìg_a</i>	"small"	<i>pòd_a</i>	"be few, small"
	<i>mì'isùg_o</i>	"sour"	<i>mì'is_a</i>	"be sour"
	<i>sùŋ_o</i>	"good"	<i>sùm_{ma}</i>	"be good"
	<i>zùlùŋ_o</i>	"deep"	<i>zùl_ma</i>	"be deep"
	<i>vènnìg_a</i>	"beautiful"	<i>vèn_{na}</i>	"be beautiful"
	<i>nyèesìg_a</i>	"confident"	<i>nyèes_a</i>	"be confident"

2vbs may be derived from nominal roots with the derivational suffixes *g l* or *lm*. *g* and *lm* derive inchoative patientive ambitransitives:

<i>bōgvsír</i>	"soft"	<i>bōk'</i>	"soften"
<i>dēɛŋ_a</i>	"first"	<i>dèŋ</i>	"precede"
<i>kpì'a</i>	"neighbour"	<i>kpì'e</i>	"approach"
<i>kpī'oŋ_o</i>	"strong"	<i>kpè'ŋ</i>	"strengthen"
<i>kūd_og_o</i>	"old"	<i>kùdìg</i>	"shrivel up, dry out, age"
<i>lāllúg_o</i>	"far"	<i>lāl_g'</i>	"become/make far"
<i>mā'asír</i>	"cool, wet"	<i>mā'e'</i>	"get cool, wet"
<i>mà_uk_o</i>	"crumpled up"	<i>màk</i>	"crumple up"
<i>mì'isùg_o</i>	"sour"	<i>mì'ig</i>	"turn sour"
<i>nyō'os'</i>	"smoke"	<i>nyū'e'</i>	"set alight"
<i>pièlìg_a</i>	"white"	<i>pèlìg</i>	"whiten"

pòɔdìg _a	"few"	pò'ɔg	"diminish, belittle"
sābìlíg _a	"black"	sōbɪg'	"blacken"
tādɪm	"weak person"	tàdɪg	"become weak"
tēbɪsír	"heavy"	tēbɪg'	"get/make heavy"
à Tūlɪ	"Breech-Delivered"	tùlɪg	"invert"
tūɔlúg _ɔ	"hot"	tūlɪg'	"heat up"
vōr'	"alive"	vō'ɔg'	"make/come alive"
wàɯŋ _ɔ	"wasted"	wàŋɪm	"waste away" (gm)
yàlòŋ _ɔ	"wide"	yàlɪg	"widen"
zùlòŋ _ɔ	"deep"	zùlɪg	"deepen"
gìk _a	"dumb"	gìgɪlɪm	"become dumb"
gū'ɔs	"semi-ripe things"	gù'ɔlɪm	"become semi-ripe"
pòŋ'ɔr	"cripple"	pòŋ'ɔlɪm	"cripple, get crippled"
wàbɪr	"lame"	wàbɪlɪm	"make, go lame"

Cf also *nwīg_a'* "rope", *nwīg'* "make a rope"; *bōgɔd_a* "client of a diviner", *bògɔlɪm/bòk* "cast lots."

l derives causatives:

gēog _ɔ	"space between legs"	gēɛl'	"put between legs" tp H sic
līk _a	"darkness"	lìgɪl	"cover up"
mā'e'	"get cool, wet"	mā'al'	"make cool, wet"
nyá'aŋ _a	"behind"	nyā'al'	"leave behind"
pūŋ'e'	"rot"	pōŋ'ɔl'	"cause to rot"
wō'ɔg'	"get wet"	wō'ɔl'	"make wet"

Various other suffixes appear in

yā'ad	"clay"	yà'ab	"mould clay"
zɔà	"friend"	zùəɔs	"befriend"
nēɛr'	"millstone"	nēɛm'	"grind with a millstone"

7.4 Verbs from verbs

Verbs may be derived from verbal roots with the derivational suffixes **g l n s**. **g** with 2vb roots expressing the achievement of temporary states is reversive; with 1vb roots expressing states it is inchoative; elsewhere, it is causative:

ènd	"block up"	èndɪg	"unblock"
là'as	"gather together"	lāk´	"open" (eye, book); tp H sic
lō	"tie up"	lōdɪg´	"untie"
pà'al	"put on top"	pàk	"take off top"
pìbɪl	"cover up"	pìbɪg	"uncover"
pìd	"put (hat etc) on"	pìdɪg	"take (hat etc) off"
pìl	"cover"	pìlɪg	"uncover"
tàb	"get stuck to"	tàbɪg	"unstick, get unstuck"
yà'al	"hang up"	yàk	"unhang"
yè	"dress oneself"	yèɛg	"undress oneself"
yò	"close"	yò'ɔg	"open"
nèjya	"be awake"	nìe	"waken"
sōn'e _{ya} ´	"be better than"	sūn'e´	"become better than" W
dōl _{la} ´	"go with"	dōlɪg´	"make accompany"
gōr _a ´	"look up" D	gōdɪg´	"make look up" D
kò	"break" intr	kò'ɔg	"break" tr
nū	"drink"	nūlɪg´	"make drink"
yùul	"swing" intr	yùlɪg	"swing" tr

l derives causatives:

bān'	"ride"	bān'al´	"put on a horse/bicycle"
gū'	"guard"	gū'ul´	"set someone on guard"
nìe	"appear"	nèl	"reveal"
yè	"dress oneself"	yèl	"dress another person"
zàb	"fight"	zàbɪl	"cause to fight"

It is pluractional (with **dl** -> **t**) in

kōdɪg´	"slaughter one animal"	kōt´	"slaughter several animals"
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n derives inchoative 2vbs from stance verbs, with causatives in **l**. All the inchoatives are tp A, but the causatives have the same tp as the 1vb. Some **n/l** pairs lack 1vbs.

		Inchoative	Causative
zì'e _{ya}	"stand"	zì'ən	zì'əl
zì'n'i _{ya}	"sit"	zì'n'in	zì'n'il
tī'i _{ya} '	"(thing) lean"	tì'in	tī'il'
gō'e _{ya} '	"look up" W	gò'ɔn	
dīg _{ya} '	"lie down"	dìgɪn	dīgɪl'
īg _{ya} '	"kneel"	ìgɪn	īgɪl'
làb _{ya}	"crouch in hiding"	làbɪn	làbɪl
vāb _{ya} '	"lie prone"	vàbɪn	vābɪl'
sù _a	"bow head"	sùn _n	sùn _n sic
	"cover oneself"	lìgɪn	lìgɪl
	"perch"	zùən	zùəl
	"perch"	yà'an	yà'al

Some stance verbs use a root-stem 2vb as inchoative: gùl_{la} "hang", gùl "start hanging/hang up", tàb_{ya} "be stuck to" with tàb "get stuck to", beside tàbɪl "stick to." Dēl_{la}' "(person) lean" has the inchoative derivative dēlɪm.

s is causative or pluractional:

àèn	"get torn"	àaès	"tear"
dì	"eat"	dìs	"feed"
kpèn'	"enter"	kpèn'ès	"make enter"
kpìig	"go out (fire)"	kpìis	"quench"
lèb	"return"	lèbɪs	"make return; answer"
mùà'	"suckle"	mù'as	"give suck to"
nìe	"appear"	nèès	"reveal"
nū	"drink"	nūlɪs'	"make drink"
sīg	"go down"	sīgɪs'	"lower"
yī	"go/come out"	yīis'/yīs	"make go/come out"
zēm _{ma} '	"be equal"	zēmɪs'	"make equal"
dī'e'	"receive"	dī'əs'	"receive (many things)"
gū'	"guard"	gū'us'	"watch out; guard (many)"
īānk'	"fly, jump"	īān'as'	"jump repeatedly"
kò	"break"	kò'ɔs	"break several times"
tòn	"shoot"	tòn'ɔs	"hunt"
yā'e'	"open mouth"	yā'as'	"open repeatedly" W

7.5 Prefixes

Prefixes precede the roots of many nouns and a few adjectives. They usually have no identifiable meaning, but are common in particular semantic fields, e.g. small animals and insects. They take the form CV(N) CV_{s1}N or CV_{l1}N, where N is a nasal homorganic with the root-initial C, and V is a/i/ɛ; after p b m f v kp gb, ɪ occurs only before root i/i/ɛ, where ɛ is not permitted. Prefixes have M or L tone throughout, and differ from cifs in tone sandhi §4.3.1. Most prefixed stems lack derivational suffixes.

C_l(N)/C_v(N) prefixes usually copy the initial root C; if this is a voiced obstruent, the prefix must be CVN. All CV_{s1}N/CV_{l1}N prefixes copy the root initial.

kìkàŋ _a	"fig tree"	kùkōr´	"voice"
k(p)ùkpàrɪg _a	"palm tree"	kp̄kp̄in _{na} ´	"merchant"
tītā'ar	"big"	p̄p̄irɪg _a ´	"desert"
sìsì'əm	"wind"	f̄f̄m _n	"envy; stye"
l̄l̄aalɪg _a	"swallow"	m̄m̄il̄m	"sweetness"
kìŋkàŋ _a	"fig"	t̄nt̄n̄rɪg _a	"mole"
s̄insáan	kind of tiny ant	n̄b-p̄ump̄aɪŋ _o	"foot"
kp̄is̄ìŋkp̄il̄ɪ	"fist"	s̄il̄ins̄iun̄g _o	"spider"
n̄ēs̄inn̄ēog _o ´ (*nɪ-)	"envious person"		
d̄ind̄ēog _o ´	"chameleon"	d̄ùnd̄ùug _o	"cobra"
b̄imb̄im _n	"altar"	b̄ùmb̄àrɪg _a	"ant"
ḡùŋḡōm _n	"kapok material"	z̄inz̄āɪŋ _o ´	"bat"
z̄ùnz̄òŋ _a	"blind"	v̄òl̄inv̄uun̄ɪ	"mason wasp"
z̄il̄inz̄iog _o	"unknown"		

In a few cases where C copies the root initial, the vowel is a:

t̄à(s̄in)t̄àɪ	"palm of hand"	kp̄àk̄ōr´	"tortoise"
w̄às̄inw̄àɪ	"gall" (on trees)		

Most Ca(N) prefixes are da(N) ba(N) sa(N) or za(N):

d̄àk̄iig _a	"wife's sibling"	d̄àȳūug _o ´	"rat"
d̄àḡòbɪg _a	"left hand"	d̄àm̄à'a	"liar"
d̄ār̄úk _o	kind of large pot	d̄àŋk̄òŋ _o	"measles"
b̄āl̄ēr̄ug _o ´	"ugly"	b̄ān̄ā	traditional smock
s̄àb̄uà	"lover, girlfriend"	s̄āk̄ár̄ug _o	"fox"
s̄ām̄án _n	"courtyard"	s̄āŋḡúnn̄ìr	"millipede"
z̄àŋk̄ù'ar	"hyena"	z̄àŋḡùəm _n	"wall"

Unusual prefixes appear in *làngáɔ́/màngáɔ́* "crab" and *nàyīg_a* "thief" (*sic*, despite B *na'ayīg*), an *a|ba g*-stem; cf *nàyīgīm* "theft", Farefare *nayiga* pl *nayigba/nayigsi*. A few prefixes have H tone: *gbányà'a* "lazy person." A few words have two prefixes. Anomalous prefixes often appear in loanwords and in ethnic group and clan names: *Nwāmpūris'* "Mamprussi."

Some prefixes are connected with the negative particles *p̄ kù: kùndù'ar* "barren woman" (*dùà'* "bear"); *nīn-p̄nān_{na}'* "disrespectful person" (*nān* "respect"); *tùb-p̄wóm̀nìb_a* "deaf people" (*tùb_{ir}* "ear", *wòm* "hear.") However, most prefixes of this form have no obvious meaning: *kùndù̀g_a* "hyena", *ḡmp̄zēr'* "duck", *dāmp̄sāar* "stick", *bān-kúsél_l* "lizard."

Other prefixes derive from cifs. *Dà-* "man" has been replaced as regular cif by *dà̀-/dà̀p-*, but *dà-* is seen in *dà̀pāal_a'* "son, boy" (*pāalíg* "new") and *dà̀kò̀nr* "son, bachelor." *P̄-* "woman" appears in *p̄kò̀nr* "widow"; cf Mooré *pvgkõore* "widow", *pvg sada* "young woman" = Kusaal *p̄à'-sād_{ir}'* with the cif *p̄à'-* "woman." *P̄-* "farm" (cf Mooré *p̄vgo* = Kusaal *p̄ōg_o'* "farm") appears in *p̄kpāad_a'* "farmer"; tonally, it behaves as a prefix. The initial *nà'-* of some words for animals and insects may be the cif of an unattested cognate of Mampruli *na'ari* "wilderness": *nà'-zòm_n* "locust", *nà'-dà̀wān_n'* "pigeon" (also *dà̀wān_n'*) and W's *nà'-nēsīnnēog_o'* "centipede"; others use *nēsīnnēog_o'*, which for W is "envious person."

Some manner nouns show the prefix *à* followed by M-spread: *àmḗgá* "truly", *àsīdā* "truly", *àní́gā* "promptly."

Number-prefixes are fossilised flexions §9.5.1.

The personaliser *à* is a bound word, not a prefix.

8 Loanwords

Nouns are much the largest group of identifiable loans; they often deviate from typical Kusaal noun structure. Borrowed verbs are much less common; they are subject to the usual constraints on verb shapes. Several function words are loans.

Most loanwords come from Hausa. Beside many nouns, there are a few verbs, like **dàam** "disturb", Hausa *dama*; **bòg** "get drunk", Hausa *bugu*. Function words include **àsésé** "except", Hausa *sai*; **kūv** "or", Hausa *ko*; **báa** "not a...", Hausa *ba*.

Many loans are ultimately from Arabic, like **láafiyà** "health", Arabic *al-‘āfiyah* "the health"; **àràzánà** "heaven, sky", Arabic *al-jannah* "the garden, paradise"; **yàddā́** "trust", Arabic *yaḍá* "he is satisfied"; **Tàláatà**, Arabic *al-thalāthā́* "Tuesday" and many more. Most have been transmitted via Hausa.

Hālí "even" is ultimately from Berber.

Songhay loans include **bùrukìna** "honest person" and the word **bàṃṃò** in **kpèñ'** **bàṃṃò** "get circumcised."

Kusaasi often attribute local or individual speech variation to Mooré influence. Arabic loans via Mooré include **màlġāk_a´**, Mooré *malaka* "angel", and **Sūtáanà**, Mooré *Svtāana* "Satan." **Mōr´** "Muslim" probably owes its pl **Móom_{ma}** to borrowing of Mooré pl *Moeemba* alongside sg *More*.

Early Christian missions to the Kusaasi used Mooré and Toende Kusaal. **Wínà'am** "God" reflects Toende *Wina'am*; **fāangíd_a** "saviour" borrows Toende *fāagit* (contrast **fāand_a´** "saver" W, homophonous with "robber.") B1/2 writes the Toende forms *aaruṅ malek* for **ànròṅ** "boat", **màlġāk_a´** "angel."

Instead of **kī'ṭb_o´** "soap", W uses **kīibú** from Mampruli *kyiibu*. Other words with sgs in **-ɹ** or **-v** are also probably loans from Mampruli or Mooré.

Loans from Twi, the major lingua franca of southern Ghana, include **kōdú** "banana", Twi *kwadu*; **sāafī** "lock, key", Twi *safē* "key" (Portuguese *chave*); **būrīyá** "Christmas", Twi *buro-onyã*.

English loanwords have often undergone considerable changes: **àlópìr** "aeroplane"; **dú'atà** "doctor"; **tóklàè** "torch" ("torchlight"); *pɔɔtim* Jer 20:10 "complain about officially" ("report.") Some were probably transmitted via Hausa: **kótù** "court", Hausa *kotu*; **wādá** "law" ("order"), Hausa *oda*. H tone representing English stress may remain fixed throughout the paradigm: **lór** "car, lorry", pl **lóyà**.

French loans include **làmpō** "tax" from *l'impôt*, and **kàsēt_a´** "witness, testimony" from *cacheté* "sealed" via Mooré *kaseto* "evidence."

9 Noun phrases

9.1 Structure and categories

A noun phrase (NP) may be headed by a noun, pronoun or quantifier; for nominalised clauses see §11.4. Free dependent NPs may precede the head recursively. Some pronouns have specialised roles as NP heads; otherwise the meanings correspond to the wide range expressed in English by genitives or NP complements with "of", e.g. *dāu lā bótìŋ* "the man's cup", *sālmā bótìŋ* "a gold cup" ("cup of gold.") Predependents with specific or countable reference are determiners (answering "which?"), others modifiers ("what kind of?") The head may be followed (in order) by adjectives, quantifiers, dependent pronouns, appositives, and the article; all but adjectives and some appositives are determiners.

Particular NP subtypes (including pronouns) fulfil adverbial roles §10.7.3.

Compounding is pervasive in NP structure where most languages use uncompounded constructions. Compounding is the regular construction for head nouns with following adjectives and dependent pronouns:

<i>būŋ_a</i>	"goat"	<i>bù-pìèlìŋ_a</i>	"white goat"
<i>bù-kàŋā´</i>	"this goat"	<i>bù-pìèl-kàŋā´</i>	"this white goat"

Compounds with non-referential cifs as dependents are also common:

<i>bù-zōŋ</i>	"goat-tail"	<i>bù-kōŋd_a´</i>	"goat-killer"
---------------	-------------	-----------------------------	---------------

Whether the cif is head or dependent, the final noun class suffix marks the number of the head; tone sandhi is the same for both kinds of compound.

Compounds may have compound components, most often as a result of the addition of an adjective or dependent pronoun to an existing compound:

<i>[bù-pìèl-]kàŋā´</i>	"this [white goat]"
<i>[nīn-wók-]pìèlìŋ_a</i>	"white [tall person]"
<i>[zà'-nō-]pìèlìŋ_a</i>	"white gate" ("white [compound-mouth]")

A compound may appear as generic argument to a following deverbal noun, and noun-adjective compounds can be used as bahuvrihi adjectives:

<i>[zà'-nō-]gúr_a</i>	"gatekeeper"
<i>[[zà'-nō-]gúr-]kàŋā´</i>	"this [gatekeeper]"
<i>kùŋ-[nōb-wók_o]</i>	"[long-legged] stool"

Modifiers, including *free* modifiers, bind tighter to their heads than deverbal nouns to generic arguments; determiners bind looser than either. This means that compounds may contain free constituents:

	sālmā [zá'-nōɔr]	"golden gate"
but	[sālmā bótìŋ]-kàŋā	"this [gold cup]"
	[sālmā lá'-]māan	"goldsmith" ("[gold item]-maker")
	[[sālmā lá'-]màan]-kàŋā	"this [[gold item]-maker]"
	ò [[sālmā lá'-]māan]	"her [[gold item]-maker]"

For coordination, "and" in NPs is *nē*, identical to the preposition "with." *Nē* can only link clauses if they have been nominalised. It cannot be omitted in series of three or more items, and it cannot join two words with the same referent:

À Wīn né à Bōgūr né à Nà'ab	"Awini, Abugri and Anaba"
dú'atà nē nà'ab	"a doctor and a chief" (<i>two people</i>)

"Or" is *bēε* or *kūv*. By default the meaning is exclusive, but the inclusive interpretation "or both" is possible:

bīig lā kūv dāu lā kúv bà wōsā	"the child, or the man, or both" W
child the or man the or 3p all	

Cifs cannot be coordinated: *[bēŋíd nē kī] kûəs "seller of beanleaf-and-millet" is ungrammatical. *Sanɣbauŋ nε tɛŋɣbauŋ paal* "a new heaven and earth" Rv 21:1 is exceptional; cf *arezana paal nε dunia paal* "a new heaven and a new earth" Is 65:17. However, any free NP as a NP constituent may itself have a coordinate structure, e.g. [[ānzúrɔfà nē sālmā] lá'-]māan "[[silver and gold] item]-maker."

Dependents usually apply to every component of a coordinated head:

pu'ab nε biis la	"the [women and children]" Gn 33:5
pū'ab nē bīis lā	
woman.PL with child.PL the	

Midian tɛŋ dim la pu'ab nε biis	"the Midianites' [women and children]"
Midian tɛŋ ðim lā pū'ab nē bīis	Nm 31:9
Midian land Øp the woman.PL with child.PL	

Kūsâas kûəb nē yīr	"Kusaasi [farming and housing]"
Kusaasi.PL hoeing with house	

sālmā bŭt̩is nē d̩ísímà	"gold [cups and spoons]"
gold cup.PL with spoon.PL	("all of them gold", K)

However, if the components are not parallel, the dependent is taken as applying only to the nearest. Thus in **sālmā lâ'ad nē bŭt̩is**, "cups" is a subtype of "goods"; K and W agreed that the meaning must be "[gold goods] and cups." For "gold [goods and cups]", W offered **sālmā lâ'ad né ò bŭt̩is** (with ò for lì, as often in unselfconscious speech.)

Coordinated dependents are most often interpreted as if a repeated head had been ellipped:

dú'atà nē nâ'ab lā lóyà	"Doctor's car(s) and the chief's car(s)"
doctor with chief the car.PL	(but possibly cars owned in common)

ānzúrɪfà nē sāl̩mā lá'-māan	"maker of silver goods and gold goods"
silver with gold item-maker	(but possibly items made of both)

Number words as dependents are coordinated to express teens etc.

Number is a category only of nouns, pronouns and quantifiers. In a compound of a noun cif with a following adjective or pronoun, the dependent inflects to show the number of the head; otherwise, agreement is confined to pronouns.

Count nouns distinguish sg/pl. Mass nouns typically refer to liquids, substances, or abstractions other than events; they do not distinguish sg/pl, but take sg agreement, e.g. **sàl̩m-kàṅā'** "this gold." This count/mass distinction affects quantifier choice, the form of **nām_a** pls, and uses as predependents. Typical mass nouns belong to **bɔ|** or **mɛ|** or are gerunds, but the distinction is fundamentally semantic: "mass" nouns may appear in count senses and *vice versa*: **dāam nám** "beers", **dàad bŭn** "wooden thing" (**dàad** "logs.")

Some pl forms have sg meaning: cf **tēñ'esá yīnní** "one thought" Acts 4:32, **dì'əm-kàṅā'** "this festival (**dì'əmà**)" Jn 7:8. More often, pl forms appear in mass senses, as with some gerunds §7.2.1 and e.g. **bān'as** "disease", **nyō'os'** "smoke", **mēt'** "pus", **kūt** "iron" (as count sg, "nail", pl **kūt-nām_a**), **sāl̩mā** "gold", **sìdà** "truth", **tàdumís** "weakness", **zōl̩mís** "foolishness", **zùəd** "friendship", **bōvd** "innocence", **nīn-pōvd** "pus", **sīīnd'** "honey", **wāad'** "cold weather", **sūn-pēɛn_n** "anger", **kuà'-nūud'** "thirst", **vūud'** "noise"; some also have count pl senses and corresponding sgs, as with **lā'ad** "goods", **līgudī** "money, cowries", **pjàn'ad** "speech, words", **tūomā** "work, deeds."

Gender is marked only in pronouns. Thinking/speaking entities, human beings, higher animals, and (traditionally) trees are *animate*, the rest *inanimate*:

Ka wief ya'a sigi li ni, li zuluᅇ na paae o salibir.

Kà wìəf yá' sīgí ·lì nī, lì zùlùᅇ ná páe ò sàlìbìr.

and horse if descend 3i at 3i depth IR reach 3a bridle

"If a horse goes down in it, its depth will reach its bridle." Rv 14:20

Tiig wela bigisid on a si'em.

"The fruit of a tree shows what it is."

Tìᅇg wélà bigìsìd ón àn sī'əm.

Mt 12:33 B1

tree fruit.PL show.IPF 3a.NZ be how

Even body parts have animate gender when represented as speaking in

Nɔ̄bir ya'a yelin ye, "Man ka' nu'ug la zug, m ka' niᅇgbiᅇ la nii," lin ku nyanᅇi ke
ka ɔ̄ ka' niᅇgbiᅇ la nii.

Nó̄bìr yá' yèlì·n yē, Mán kā' nù'ug lā zúg, m̄ kā' nín-gbīᅇ lā ní·,

leg if say-DP that 1s.NZ NG.be hand the on 1s NG.exist body the at-NG

līn kú ñyāᅇī ·ké kà ò kā' nín-gbīᅇ lā ní·.

DEMi NG.IR prevail + let and 3a NG.exist body the at-NG

"If a leg said, 'Because I am not a hand, I am not in the body', that could not cause it not to be in the body." 1 Cor 12:15

There is no gender distinction in the plural:

Bà à nē kūgá.

"They are stones."

3p be FOC stone.PL

In older sources inanimate pronoun heads can be indifferently sg or pl, but with dependent pronouns even B1 always uses **bàmmā' bàn sīəbā** for inanimate pl.

In unselfconscious speech animate pronouns often appear for inanimate:

Nīf-káᅇā, ɔ̄n sâᅇ'am nē.

"This eye, it's spoilt." K (overheard)

eye-DEM 3a spoil FOC

M̄ pō ñyēó·o·.

"I can't find it [stethoscope]" (overheard)

1s NG see·3a·NG

sālmā lâ'ad né ò bŭtīᅇs

"gold stuff and (gold) cups" W

gold item.PL with 3a cup.PL

The non-anaphoric dummy-subject pronoun "it" is always *lì*, never *ò*:

O anε m pu'a. "She is my wife." Gn 26:7

Ò à né m̄ puā'.

3a be FOC 1s woman

but Li anε Zugšəb la. "It is the Lord." Jn 21:7

Lì à nē Zūg-sób lā.

3i be FOC Lord the

9.2 Pronouns

Personal pronouns:

	Right-bound	Enclitic	Free	Subject+ <i>̀n</i> §11.4
1s	<i>m̄</i>	<i>m_a</i>	<i>mān</i> lf <i>mánè</i>	<i>mán</i>
2s	<i>f̄</i>	<i>f_o</i>	<i>f̄n</i> lf <i>fúnè</i>	<i>fún</i>
3a	<i>ò</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ōn</i>	<i>ón</i>
3i	<i>lì/dì</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>līn/dīn</i>	<i>lín/dín</i>
1p	<i>tì</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>tīnám_a</i>	<i>tīnámì</i>
2p	<i>yà</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>yānám_a</i>	<i>yānámì</i>
3p	<i>bà</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>bān</i>	<i>bán</i>

Mām is an alternative free 1s. 2pS *ya/n* is used as subject after imperatives.

The bound forms are all liaison words. The enclitics are used for VP objects, right-bound elsewhere. There are no dependent forms: in e.g. *ò bīig* "her child", *ò* heads a predependent NP §9.6.

There is no free/bound distinction before nominaliser *̀n*. In isolation, in coordination, before dependents, or when focused, only free forms can occur:

<i>Mánè·?</i>	"Me?"
<i>tīnám nē f̄n</i>	"us and you"
<i>mān Paul</i>	"I, Paul"

<i>F̄n kanε buoli f̄ mεŋ ...</i>	"You who call yourself ..." Rom 2:17
<i>F̄n-kánì· bùə̀lì· f̄ mēŋ ...</i>	
2s-DEM·NZ call 2s self	

<i>Manε an kənbkem s̄ŋ la.</i>	"I am the good shepherd." Jn 10:11
<i>Mānī · áŋ kónb-kìm-s̄ŋ lā.</i>	
1s + be shepherd-good the	

In positions where bound forms are possible, free forms express *contrast*; a special case of this is the logophoric use of the 3rd person forms in reported speech.

There are no special honorific usages of pronouns.

2s is used in proverbs for a generic "one":

Bung ya'a bood ye o lubuf, fu po nyeti o tubaa.

B̀òṅ yá' b̀òod yé ò l̀úbí·f, f̀ù p̀ō ǹyētí ·ò t̀òbāa·.

donkey if want that 3a throw.off·2s 2s NG see.IPF 3a ear.PL·NG

"If a donkey wants to throw you off, you don't see his ears." G2 p44

(Where there's a will, there's a way.)

3p is used as a non-specific "they" for turning passive constructions actively:

Bà ỳòdī·f s̀úṅáa·?

"Are you well paid?" S

3p pay.IPF·2s well·PQ

The construction has become grammaticalised to the extent that in n-catenation the object can be construed as the grammatical subject:

Diib ẁosa nari ba di.

"All foods may be eaten." Rom 14:20

D̄īb w̄sā nárì · bà dí.

food all must + 3p eat

Demonstrative pronouns:

		Animate	Inanimate sg	Pl
Head	Long	far	l̀nā´	b̀ammā´
		near	nē'ḙṅā	
	Short	far	l̀n	b̀àn
		near	nē'	
Dependent	Long	k̀àṅā´	k̀àṅā´	b̀ammā´
	Short	k̀àn	k̀àn	b̀àn
Adverbial	far	s̄ān·kán	àlá	kpē
	near	nānná(-nā´)	àñwá(-nā´)	kpēlá or àní(-nā´)

Nē'ḙṅā nē' can form the specifically inanimate pls nē'ḙṅā·nám_a nè'-nám_a.

Note the tone difference between òn l̀n b̀àn and free 3rd person pronouns.

"Short" demonstratives are used for discourse deixis, for interrogative "which?", and in heads of relative clauses:

Fṽnɛ an dau kan la!
 Fṽnī · án dáy-kàn lā!
 2s + be man-DEM the

"You are that man!" 2 Sm 12:7
 (in the story just related.)

Lìnè·?
 Nīf-kánè·?
 fṽn-kànì· bùəl ...

"Which one?"
 "Which eye?"
 "you who call ..."

"Long" demonstratives are used for spatio-temporal deixis. Inanimate heads have distinct forms for far and near, as do the time/manner/place series: *kpē* "here", *kpēlá* "there"; elsewhere, "that" can be specified by following the demonstrative with *lā´* and "this" by a following *ńwà*.

nō-píəl-kàṅā´
 dú'atà lā lór-kàṅā
 dàṽ-kàṅā sâam
 dàṽ-kàṅā lā sâam
 dàṽ-kàṅā ńwà sâam

"this/that white hen"
 "this/that car of the doctor's"
 "this/that man's father"
 "that man's father"
 "this man's father"

Indefinite pronouns:

Animate sg
 sṽ'
 sī'a

Inanimate sg
 sī'ə_a
 sī'a

Pl
 sīəbā (modal vowel)

Time
 sān-sí'a

Manner
 sī'əm

Place
 zìń'-sī'a

Sṽ' sī'ə_a sīəbā may be head or dependent, sī'a dependent only; for W (not K) it is much commoner than sī'ə_a as dependent. For W, using sī'a for people is pejorative.

Except in relative clause heads, under the scope of negation, or when followed by *mè-kàmà* "-soever", the sense is specific "(a) certain, (a) different":

yà bì-sṽ'
 2p child-IDFa

"a certain child of yours"

Dàṽ-sṽ' dāa bé
 man-IDFa TNS exist

"There was a certain/another man"

na'aso' lem be "there is another king" Acts 17:7
 nà'-sō' lém bé
 king-IDFa again exist

M̄ ná tī·f tí-sī'a. "I'll give you a different medicine." W
 1s IR give·2s medicine-IDF

O niṅid si'el məkama sù'ṅa. "He does everything well." Mk 7:37
 Ò niṅìd sī'el mé-kàmà sú'ṅā.
 3a do.IPF IDFi whatever well

With negative VPs, indefinites mean "nobody, nothing":

Sō' kā'e. "There's nobody there."
 IDFa NG.exist·NG

M̄ pō yél sī'elā. "I haven't said anything."
 1s NG say IDFi·NG

Interrogative pronouns:

Animate		Inanimate
ànô'ṅn	"who?"	bō "what?"

Pls with **nàm_a** may be used if a specifically plural answer is being sought.

Time	Manner	Place	
sān-kán	wēlá	yáa	"whither/whence?"
		yáa ní	"where?"

Note also **bò-wìn_n** "what time of day?" **bōn-dâar** "which day?"
Àlá "how much/many?" has the number prefix **à-**, preceded by **-a** in liaison.
Bō can be used after a **cif** as a dependent interrogative "what?":

Nā'-bó·?	"what cow?" W D (Náaf bó·? "What, of a cow's?" W)
Bò-bò·?	"what goat?"
Dā-bó·?	"what beer?"

The compound **bò-būudī** "what kind of?" can also be used as a dependent:

Nā'-bó-būudì·?

"what kind of cow?"

Dā-bó-būudì·?

"what kind of beer?"

Fù á nē bó-būudì·?

"What ethnic group do you belong to?"

2s be FOC what-sort·CQ

Bò- can be used as a predependent, querying a description: "what sort of?"

Fù tùm bó-tùumà·?

"What kind of work do you do?" S

2s work.IPF what-work·CQ

Bò sɔnsig ka ya sɔnsid nɛ taaba?

Bò-sósìg kà yà sōsīd nē táabà·?

what-conversation and 2p converse.IPF with each.other·CQ

"What are you talking about to each other?" Lk 24:17

The ideophone **kímm** "firmly, fast" appears after interrogative pronouns in the sense "exactly": **bō kímm** "what exactly?"; **bō zúg kímm** "why exactly?"

The personaliser pronoun **à** precedes all Kusaasi personal names except for those based on adjectives, e.g. **à Wīn** "Awini." Some animal and bird names always follow **à**, with no implication of personification, e.g. **à dàalúŋ** "stork", **à mús** "cat", **à kōrā-dīəm_{ma}** "praying mantis." In all cases, **à** is omitted after any predependent: thus **tì Wīn** "our Awini", and e.g.

Lì à né à dàalúŋ.

"It's a stork."

but **m̀ dàalúŋ**

"my stork"

dāu lā dáalúŋ

"the man's stork"

VPs may be *nominalised* by **à**, which then behaves as a subject pronoun "someone who ..."; as predependent to a clause subject **à** means "someone whose ...". These nominalisations pluralise with **nám_a**; as with nominalisations with **̀n** §11.4, negative enclitics are dropped unless the nominalisation is itself clause-final.

À dāa yél ká' t̄t̄umm̄.

PZ TNS say NG.have medicine-NG

"Did-say has no remedy."

(No use crying over spilt milk.)

À nyē nē nīf són'ɔ̀ ·à wòm t̄bà.

PZ see with eye surpass PZ hear ear.PL

"Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears"

(Seeing is believing.)

à Kìdìgī · bŭ'əs

PZ cross + ask

"Crossed over and asked"

(name of the constellation Orion)

Apozotyel

à Pŭ-zót-yēl'í

PZ NG-run.IPF-matter

"Doesn't-fear-trouble"

character in G2 p35

À zī' · kpí nàm kpîid né kà ténb̀̀d.

PZ NG.know + die PL die.IPF FOC and tremble.IPF

"Those who don't know death, are dying with a struggle." (Storm in a teacup.)

a-daar-paaeya kum

à dāar páe yā kúm

PZ day arrive m/c death

"a natural death" Nm 16:29

Ba wa'ene anakoom nua yir, ka ba po wa'e anoos be yire.

Bà wà'a né à nà kúb ·m̄ nūa yír, kà bà pŭ wá'a à nōos bé yírē·.

3p go FOC PZ IR kill 1s hen house and 3p NG go PZ hen.PL exist house-NG

"They go to Will-kill-my-hen's house, not to Has-hens' house." G2 p38

(The rich are not always hospitable.)

The reciprocal pronoun is **tāabā** "one another" (clause-medially **tāab** for some speakers.) After a cif it means "fellow-": **ò tòm-tòm-tāabā** "his fellow-workers."

S̀̀ngimī· tāabā.

help.IMP·2pS each.other

"Help one another."

Tì yūug nē tāabā.

1p delay with each.other

"It's been a long time." K

Bà d̀̀l nē tāabā.

3p follow with each.other

"They go together."

The reflexive pronoun **mēŋ_a'** "self" (sg and pl) always has a predependent:

nà'ab lā mēŋ

chief the self

"the chief himself"

Bà ǹ̀yéε ·bà mēŋ.

3p see 3p self

"They've seen for themselves."

Fò mēŋ kōu bí-lìàa·?

2s self or baby·CQ

"Yourself or the baby?" ("Which of you needs the doctor?"; overheard)

"Self" forms are obligatory for complements referring to clause subjects:

M̄ ñwé'ε ·m̄ mēŋ.

1s hit 1s self

"I hit myself."

Kusaal regularly uses pronoun possessors with body parts acted on by their owners as subjects, with *mēŋ* to express contrast:

Ba pu piesidi ba nu'us wɔu lin nar si'em la ka dit̄a.

Bà p̄ p̄iəsídí ·bà nú'us w̄ɔu lín nār sī'əm lá kà dít̄a·.

3p NG clean.IPF 3p hand.PL like 3i.NZ need how the and eat.IPF·NG

"They don't wash their hands properly before they eat." Mt 15:1

Mam Paul n sɔb pu'us kaŋa nε m mēŋ nu'ug.

Mām Paul n sɔb p̄'us-kàŋā né m̄ mēŋ nú'ug.

1s Paul + write greeting-DEM with 1s self hand

"I, Paul, have written this greeting with my own hand." Col 4:18

The empty pronoun *sɔb_a* is a dummy head for a preceding NP dependent; it specifies number and gender but has no other semantic content.

Animate sg *sɔb_a* pl *d̄im_a*

Inanimate sg/pl *d̄in_n*

Ò *sɔb/ɔn sɔb* mean "the last person mentioned."

Constructions with predependent NPs have the usual meanings:

mān d̄ín

"my one, mine"

à W̄ín d̄ím

"Awini's family"

p̄ù-p̄iə̀l̄im sɔb (pl p̄ù-p̄iə̀l̄im d̄ím)

"holy person" (p̄ù-p̄iə̀l̄im "holiness")

d̄ūnɣā ní d̄ín

"earthly one" 1 Cor 15:44

Bòk d̄ím

"Bawku people"

ȳīgá sɔb

"first person" beside *ȳīg-sɔb_a*

F̄ūn p̄iān'ad nē t̄ínám d̄ín.

"You're speaking ours [language]."

2s speak.IPF FOC 1p Øi

Cif predependents occur in set expressions:

<i>yī-sób_a</i>	pl <i>yī-sób-nàm_a</i>	"householder" (<i>yīr'</i> "house")
<i>yī-dím_a</i>		"members of the household"
<i>nīf-sób_a</i>		"miser" (<i>nīf_o'</i> "eye")
<i>tànp-sób_a</i>		"warrior" (<i>tānp_o</i> "war")
<i>zūg-sób_a</i>	pl <i>zūg-sób-nàm_a</i>	"boss"; B "Lord" (<i>zūg_o'</i> "head")

9.3 Proper names

When speaking English or French, Kusaasi usually cite proper names without apocope: *à Wīn* from *Wīdì-nyá'aṅ_a* will introduce himself as "Awini" from "Woriyanga"; similarly "Kusaasi" for *Kūsâas*, "Bawku" for *Bòk_o* etc. "Woriyanga" also reflects the *Mampruli* cif *wuri-* for "horse": the convention originated in the use of Mamprussi guides and interpreters by the British in their initial explorations. A parallel development had taken place in the Mamprussi area when the British arrived with Dagomba guides: thus "Gambaga" for Mampruli *Gambaa* (Naden.) The pattern has been generalised by analogy, and many forms show distinctively Kusaal phonology or vocabulary. Simple reproduction of Kusaal forms is occasionally seen, e.g. "Aruk" for the personal name *à Dōk*, and "Kusaal" *Kūsâal* itself.

Kusaasi personal names are NPs beginning with the personaliser pronoun *à*. Foreign names also take *à* (though not in B): *à Mūsā* "Moses", *à Yīsā* "Jesus", *à Sīmōn* "Simon", but *Wīnà'am* "God" (W *Wīnnà'am*) and *Sūtāanà* "Satan" do not. Animal names take *à* in fables: *à Bāa* "Mr Dog"; cf *Asan'auṅ à Sàñ'buṅ* "Abaddon" B. Before adjectives, *à* becomes fixed-L *ṅ*: *ṅ Dāvḡ* "Ndago" ("male"), *ṅ Pṡāk* "Mpoaka" ("female"), *ṅ Bīl* "Mbillah" ("little.")

Personal names do not take articles, but do occur with other determiners: *à Wīn-kāṅā* "this Awini", *tì Wīn* "our Awini"; *tì ṅ Dāvḡ* "our Ndago." They pluralise with *nàm_a*; *à Wīn-nám* can mean "more than one Awini" or "Awini and his people."

Most Kusaasi names are based on common nouns, but a few are based on adjectives, and some on whole VPs or clauses:

<i>à Mōr yām</i>	Amoryam	"has intelligence" (girl, G3 p6)
<i>à Tūm bódìḡ yā</i>		"the medicine has got lost" (man)

Many names allude to a *sīgr'*, a spiritual guardian assigned to a newborn after the father's consultation with a diviner; this may be the *wīn'* "spiritual individuality" of an ancestor, or of a powerful tree (which may then be marked with an iron spike):

à Wīn	Awini	person with a <i>sīgr'</i> from father's side
à Bōgōr	Abugri	<i>bōgōr</i> "a <i>sīgr'</i> from mother's side"
à Tūg	Atiga	<i>tūg</i> "tree"
à Kūdōg	Akudugu	<i>kūdōg</i> "iron"

A younger sibling of à Wīn with the same *sīgr'* may be called à Wīn-bīl "Awimbillah" (*bīl* "little"), of à Kūdōg, à Kūd-bīl "Akudibillah" etc. Girls' names may follow the pattern à Wīn-puāk "Awimpoaka" (*puāk* "female.")

Other names refer to birth circumstances:

à Nà'ab	Anaba	<i>nà'ab</i> "afterbirth" (chiefs leave after their retainers): sole survivor of twins
à Fūug	Afugu	"clothing": born with a caul
à Tūl	Atuli	<i>tūl</i> "inversion": breech-delivered child

Names (especially of girls) may reflect the weekday of birth: à Tīnì "Monday", à Tàláatà "Tuesday", Àrzúmà *sic* "Friday", à Sībì "Saturday."

Other names relate to apotropaic practices meant to break a cycle of stillbirths, such as discarding a dead child or burying it in a pot; the next surviving child may then be called e.g. à Tàmpōvōr "Tampuri" ("ashpit") or à Dōk "Aruk" ("pot.") Another strategy is pretended adoption by an outsider, resulting in names like

à Sāan	Asana	"guest"
à Sāan-dú	Sadow	"guest" + <i>dāu</i> "man"
à Zàngbèog	Azangbego	"Hausa"
à Nàsà-puāk	Anasapoaka	"European woman"; also "child delivered by a European midwife"

The Kusaasi did not use surnames traditionally. When speaking English or French, they use baptismal names (or formal Arabic names, in the case of Muslims), with Kusaal personal names treated as surnames.

See Haaf pp87ff for a detailed account of Kusaasi naming practices.

The great majority of ethnic group and clan names are a|ba or ga|se. The place inhabited by the group adds sg go to the stem; language names add le.

Ethnic group sg/pl	Language	Place	
Bāri _{ga} '	Bāris'	Bāt'	Bāro _{go} '
Bìn _n	Bì _m _{ma}	Bìn _n	Bì _u _{go}
Bùl _{ga}	Bùls	Bùl _l	Bulsa
Bùsá _{ga}	Bùsáans	Bùsáan _l	Bisa
Dàgáad _a	Dàgáadì _b _a		Dagaaba
Dàgbān _n '	Dàgbām _{ma} '	Dàgbān _n '	Dàgbā _u _{go} '
Gūrī _{ga}	Gūrís	Gūrīn _n	Farefare
Kàmbù _{ga}	Kàmbù _m _s	Kàmbù _n _r	Ashanti
Kūsáa	Kūsáas	Kūsáal	Kūsá _o _{go}
Mùa	Mòos	Mòol	Mò _o _{go}
Nàbù _a	Nàbùdì _b _a	Nàbù _r	Nàbù _d _{go}
Nwāmpūrī _{ga} '	Nwāmpūris'	Nwāmpūrī _l '	Nwāmpūrō _{go} '
Sì _m _{ga}	Sì _m _i _s	Sì _m _i _l	Sì _m _i _u _{go}
Tàlī _{ga}	Tàls	Tàlīn _n	Tallensi
Yà _{ga}	Yàans/Yàamìs or Yàam _{ma}	Yàan _n	Yansi
Yārī _{ga} '	Yāris'	Yāt'	Yarsi
Zà _{ng} bè _o _{go}	Zà _{ng} bèèd	Zà _{ng} bèèl	Hausa

Bāris' means "Bisa", not just Bareka; Bì_m_{ma} "Moba", not just Bemba (W.)

Note also Mōr' pl Móom_{ma} "Muslim"; Nàsāarā pl Nàsāa(r)-nām_a "European", Nàsāal "English" (Arabic *Naṣārā* "Christians"); Tù_{en}_n "Toende", Tù_{en}_n_r "Toende dialect", Àgò_l "Agolle", Àgò_l "Agolle dialect": Ò pì_{an}'ad Àgò_l. "She speaks Agolle."

Clan names include

Clan sg/pl	Place	
Gò _o _{ga}	Gòos	Gò _o _{go}
	Gùm-dì _m _a	Gùm _n
Kùtān _n	Kùtām _{ma} '	Kùtā _u _{go} '
Nàbù _a	Nàbùdì _b _a	Nàbù _d _{go}
Sà'-dàbù _a	Sà'-dàbù _{es} -dàbù _{eb} _a	Sà'-dàbò _o _{go}
	Nà'-dām _{ma}	Nà'-dà _u _{go}
Wiid _a	Wiid-nām _a	Wiidò _{go}
Zù _a	Zù _{es}	Zoose

Subclans: Zù_a-sābílís "Black Zoose", Zù_a-wì_{ib}_a/-wìis "Red Zoose." The clan Nàbùdì_b_a is distinct from the ethnic group "Nabdema."

Place names are intrinsically locative. Most have transparent meanings.

Àgòl _l	Agolle	cf àgól _l "upwards"
Bàs-yōn _n '	Basyonde	"abandon sacks" ? reason for name
Bì-nà'ab _a	Binaba	"prince"
Bòk _o	Bawku	"pit, geographical depression"
Bōg _{ur}	Bugri	bōg _{ur} , object housing a wīn _n '
Dèn _u g _o	Denugu	? cf Mooré <i>reongo</i> "cattle kraal"
Gàar _ù	Garu	Hausa <i>garu</i> "town/compound wall"
Kòl-tā'amís	Kultamse	"dog almonds, <i>Andira inermis</i> "
Kūg _{ur} '	Kugri	"stone"
Kūk _a '	Koka	"mahogany tree"
Kùkparìg _a	Kokpariga	"palm tree"
Kùl _u g _u g _o	Kulungungu	Bisa <i>Kuurgongu</i> "Crooked Sheanut"
Mì'isìg _a	Missiga	English "mission"
M _y à'-nōr'	Mogonori	"lakeside"
Pùl _m à Kù'əm	Pulimakom	"water by pùl _m à grass"
Pūsìg _a '	Pusiga	"tamarind"
Sā-bìl _a	Zebilla	cf Farefare <i>saaga</i> (a kind of grass)
Sā-pìèlìg _a	Sapeliga	" <i>Isobertinia doka</i> "
Tèmpáan _n	Tempane	? "new villages"
Tīl _l '	Tilli	"tree trunk" (Hasiyatu Abubakari, p.c.)
Tùen _n	Toende	"West"
Wìdāan _a	Widana	for Wìd-dāan _a "Horse-Owner", title of a chief's nō-dí'əs _a "linguist."
Wìd-nyá'aṅ _a	Woriyanga	archaic for wìd-nyá'aṅ _a "mare"
Wìid-nà'ab _a	Widinaba	"chief of clan Wìid _a "

For "north, east, south, west", W has respectively Bār_ug_o' "Bisa country", Ñyá'aṅ_a "behind", Zūāyā "hills" (i.e. the Gambaga Escarpment) and Tùen_n "in front"; B3 has *ya-datiuṅ* "your right", *ya-nya'aṅ*, *ya-dagobug* "your left", *ya-tuona*.

Places outside the Kusaasi area generally do not have Kusaal names (but Sāṅkâans "Cinkansé" in Burkina Faso.) "Accra" is Aṅkara, from Twi.

The White Volta is simply kōl_ga "river."

Proper names of times include names of festivals like Sāmán-píer (traditional "New Year" and of weekdays, found always as predeterminers of dāar "day": Àlāsìd Sunday", Àtínì "Monday", Àtáláatà "Tuesday", Àlárìbà "Wednesday", Àlàmiisì "Thursday", À(r)zúmà "Friday", Àsíbutì "Saturday." The traditional three-day market cycle differs between villages, and older speakers count in days, not weeks.

9.4 Kinship terms

Many basic kinship terms do not distinguish sex. The system is characterised by the importance of birth order among same-sex siblings, and its irrelevance between siblings of opposite sex. Age itself is not a factor: I am senior to you if my parent is senior to yours, and seniority among wives depends on marriage order. (m = male, f = female)

bīər´	senior same-sex sibling/cousin
pītú	junior same-sex sibling/cousin
tāyñ´	opposite-sex sibling/cousin
sàam _{ma} (less formally, bā´)	father
sàam-kpēɛnɪm	father's elder brother
sàam-pīt _a ´	father's younger brother
pùgudìb _a	father's sister
mà	mother (mà nám _a mother's co-wives)
mà-kpēɛnɪm	mother's elder sister/senior co-wife
mà-bīl _a or mà-pīt _a ´	mother's younger sister/junior co-wife
ánsɪb _a	mother's brother
bīig _a (m dākòɔ̀nɪr, f pɹà'-yùà)	child; brother's child; child's spouse
ānsíŋ _a	sister's child
yáab _a (m yāa-dāy, f -pɹá')	grandparent/ancestor
yáaŋ _a	grandchild/descendant
pɹà'-ēlíŋ _a	fiancée
yī-pɹá' or pɹā'	wife; brother's wife
dìə _{ma} (m dìə _m -dāy, f -pɹāk _a)	wife's parent
dàkīg _a (m dākì-dāy, f -pɹāk _a)	wife's sibling/sister's husband
dàkì-tùà	wife's sister's husband
sīd _a	husband
dàyáam _{ma} (m dáyāam-dāy, f -pɹák _a)	husband's parent
sìd-kpēɛnɪm	husband's elder brother
sìd-bīl _a	husband's younger brother
sìd-pɹāk _a	husband's sister
nìn-tāa	co-wife; husband's brother's wife

Dìə_{ma} is used in polite address by a person of either sex to an unrelated person of opposite sex and similar or greater age.

Siblings-in-law have a traditional joking relationship; at [Bùgúm-tōɔ̀nɪr](#), the Fire Festival, one throws eggs at one's "playmates." Whole ethnic groups are held to stand in this relationship to one another.

9.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are either mass or count: mass quantifiers include *bèdɔgɔ́* "a lot", *pāmm* If *pāmné* "a lot", *fīn* "a little (liquid)", *bī'ələ́* "a little", *wɔv* "all", *wɔsā* "all"; count quantifiers include *bàbɔgā́* "many", *kàlɔgā́* "few", *fāan* "every", *zān'a* "every", *kām_a* "every", *kām zān'a* "every" and the number words. Count quantifiers are ungrammatical with a mass noun: *nīdīb bédɔgɔ́* or *nīdīb bábɔgā́* "a lot of/many people"; *kù'əm bédɔgɔ́* "a lot of water"; but not **kù'əm bábɔgā́*.

Quantifiers are typically determiners after NP heads, but may occur as heads. After a dependent NP, a quantifier head has a partitive sense. Quantifiers pluralise with *nām_a*. They may be followed by dependent pronouns.

<i>Bèdɔgɔ́/pāmm ké nā.</i>	"Many came."
<i>Bèdɔgɔ́ lā ké nā.</i>	"The crowd came."
<i>Àyí' ké nā.</i>	"Two came."
<i>Àyí' lā ké nā.</i>	"The two came."
<i>nīdīb lā àyí'</i>	"two of the people"
<i>màlǎk-nám túsà pīigā nám</i>	"tens of thousands of angels"

<i>nīdīb bédɔgɔ́ bāmā n'wá</i>	"this crowd of people" Mt 15:33 B2
person.PL much DEMp this	

9.5.1 Numbers

The numbers in their core role as quantifiers take the forms

1	<i>yīnní</i>	10	<i>pīigā</i>	100	<i>kòbɔgā</i> (lf identical)
2	<i>àyí'</i>	20	<i>pīsí</i>	200	<i>kòbúsí</i>
3	<i>àtán'</i>	30	<i>pīs tán'</i>	300	<i>kòbìs tán'</i>
4	<i>ànāasí</i>	40	<i>pīs nāasí</i>	400	<i>kòbìs nāasí</i>
5	<i>ànū</i>	50	<i>pīs nū</i>		<i>etc</i>
6	<i>àyúəbù</i>	60	<i>pīs yúəbù</i>		
7	<i>àyópòḡ</i>	70	<i>pīs yópòḡ</i>		
8	<i>àní</i>	80	<i>pīs ní</i>		
9	<i>àwāḡ</i>	90	<i>pīs wāḡ</i>		

NP heads precede, taking sg forms before *yīnní*, pl otherwise. Sg is sometimes found for pl with units of measure: *yòlɔgā ·àtán'* "600 cedis." *Yīnní* can also be construed with a preceding cif: *kūg-yínní* "one stone" vs *kūgɔr yīnní* "one stone." *Pīigā pīi* "ten", *pīsí pīs* "twenty" can be preceded by the cif *dà-* "day" (written *dab* in B3): *dabpii ne ayɔpɔi daar* "on the seventeenth day" Gn 7:11.

"Thousand" is the regular noun **tūsɹ'**: **tūsá àtán'** "3000." "Half" is **pū-súk_a** pl **pū-súgvs**. Other numbers are formed with **nē** "with": **kòbìs tán' nē pīs yúəbò nē nū** "three hundred and sixty-five." 11 to 19 have the special contracted forms **pīi nē yīnní**, **pīi nē yí'**, **pīi nē tán'** ... **pīi nē wāɛ** (or **pīi nā yīnní**, **pīi nā yí'** ...)

o nya'andolib pii nɛ yi "his twelve disciples" Mt 26:20
 ò ñyā'an-dóllìb pīi nē yí'
 3a disciple.PL ten with two

Àyíṅā', **àtánā'** mean "two, three exactly." If I have four children, it is true (if misleading) to say **Ṁ mór bīisá ·àtán'** "I have three children", but not true to say **Ṁ mór bīisá ·àtánā'**. These forms also appear after **nē**: **pīi nē yíṅā** "twelve exactly." They are exceptional in not permitting focus with **nē'** §12.1.

The prefix **à-** is omitted after **nē** "with", and sometimes also after focus-**nē'**:

Lì à nē nāasí./Lì à né ànāasí. "They're four."

This **à-** is the old agreement flexion for **rɛ|aa** pl. Animate-gender **bà-** has been supplanted by **à-** after nouns, but remains regular after personal pronouns: **tì bàtán'** "we three", **yà bàyópòɛ** "you seven", **bà bàyí'** "they two."

1 to 9 have different forms used in counting, lacking apocope-blocking and using the number prefix **h-** (the old agreement for **mɛ|**) instead of **à-**:

1	yéon or àràkón'	6	nyûəb
2	nyí'	7	hɹpòɛ sic
3	hntán'	8	hnní
4	hnāas	9	hnwāɛ
5	hnū		continuing pīigā , pīi nē yí' as with quantifiers

Àràkón' can also be used as a quantifier: **búog àràkón'** "one goat."

In performing arithmetic the quantifier forms are used:

Àyí' námá ·àyí' á nē nāasí. "Two twos are four."
 two PL two be FOC four

The only ordinal adjective is **dēɛŋ_a** "first": **sob deen** "first census" Lk 2:2 B1.

"First" can also be expressed by **yīigá** "firstly" as a predependent:

line da an yiiga dabisir "That was the first day." Gn 1:5
līnī · dá àn yīigá dábsìr.
 3i + TNS be firstly day

Numbers as predependents of *dāan*_a "owner" produce ordinals: *àyí' dāan lā* "the second one", *bōvgá ·àtán' dāan lā* "the third goat"; "first" is *yīgá dāan*. Another way of expressing ordinals is to use relative clauses with *pàas/pè'és* "amount to":

dàù-kànì· pè'ésà ·àyí' lā "the second man"
man-DEM·NZ come.to two the

lìnì· pàasà ·àtán' lā "the third one"
DEMi·NZ come.to three the

Multiplicatives answer *àbùlá?* "how many-fold?" They are *yīmmú* "straight away, at once", *àbùyí'* "twice", *àbùtán'* "three times", *àbùnāasí* "four times", and so on, with apocope-blocking like quantifiers, up to *bùpīgā* "ten times." The prefix *bù-* is the old *bo|* agreement; *à-* is the manner-noun formant, preceded by *-i* in liaison, so its attachment to 2-9 alone is presumably analogical.

Answers to *nōorá ·àlá* "how many times?" may be e.g. *nōor yīnní* "once", *nōorá ·àtán'* or *nōorím bùtán'* "three times" etc. This *nōor* is not "mouth" (Mooré *noore*), but corresponds to Mooré *naoore*, Toende *nɔ'ot* "leg": Toende *nɔba ayi/nɔ'ot ayi* "twice."

Distributives "two by two" etc are (as sfs):

1	<i>yīn yīn</i>	10	<i>pīi pīg</i>	100	<i>kòbìg kóbìg</i>
2	<i>àyí' yí'</i>	20	<i>pīsí pīsí</i>	200	<i>kòbusí kóbúsí</i> or <i>kòbìs yí' yí'</i>
3	<i>àtán' tán'</i>	30	<i>pīs tán' tán'</i>	300	<i>kòbìs tán' tán'</i>
4	<i>ànāas nāas</i>	40	<i>pīs nāas nāas</i>		<i>etc</i>
5	<i>ànū nū</i>	50	<i>pīs nū nū</i>	1000	<i>tūsīr túsìr</i>
6	<i>àyûəb yûəb</i>	60	<i>pīs yûəb yûəb</i>		
7	<i>àyópðə pə</i>	70	<i>pīs yópðə pə</i>		
8	<i>àníí níí</i>	80	<i>pīs níí níí</i>		
9	<i>àwāə wāə</i>	90	<i>pīs wāə wāə</i>		

Intermediate forms are of the pattern *pīs nū nē nāas nāas* "by fifty-fours." There may be a predependent NP: *dābá àyópðə pə* "weekly" ("by sevens of days.")

There are two adjectives for "one of a pair": *nyàuk*_o pl *nyà'ad* is only used for eyes, while *yīu*_o pl *yīná* is used for other paired body parts: *nīf-nyáuk* "one eye", *nōb-yíu* "one leg", *nū'-yíu* "one hand", *tòb-yīu* "one ear."

The adjective *yīmmír* pl *yīmmá* cif *yīm-* means "solitary, unique."

9.6 Predependents

NPs may be preceded, recursively, by dependent NPs; on tone sandhi, see §5.2. Predependents resemble English genitives and complements with "of", with a similar wide range of meanings, dependent on the nature of both head and dependent. Cif predependents are non-referential, functioning as modifiers or as generic arguments to deverbal nouns; free indefinite mass predependents are modifiers; other free NPs are determiners. Determiners precede modifiers, with cifs last:

Wínà'am [pú'ʊsùg [fûug dôog]] "tabernacle" (God's [worship [cloth hut]])

Certain types of head are involved in specialised predependent constructions. For postpositions see §10.7.3.

If the head is a demonstrative, indefinite or interrogative pronoun, a quantifier, or a relative clause, the predependent construction is *partitive*. Thus **nīn-síəbà** "certain people", **nīdībá ·à'yí' (lā)** "(the) two people", but

yà sō'	"some one among you"
nīdīb lā síəbà	"certain of the people"
nīdīb lá à'yí'	"two of the people"

Pa'alimi ti nidiba ayi' nwa fun gan so'.

Pà'alīmī-tí nīdībá ·à'yí' n̄wá fún gāŋ sō'.

teach.IMP·1p person.PL two this 2s.NZ choose IDFa

"Tell us which of these two people you have chosen" Acts 1:24

Partitive senses are not possible with other head types: e.g. **nīdīb lā gígìs** must mean "the dumb ones belonging to the people", not "among the people" (W.)

Dāan_a "owner" (pl **dāan-nām_a**) always follows a NP (which may be of almost any type) representing a possession or quality:

Zu-wok daan po gangid bugum.

Zù-wōk dāan pō gāŋìd búgúmm·.

tail-long owner NG step.over.IPF fire·NG

"One with a long tail doesn't step over a fire." G2 p38

(If you have family commitments you shouldn't take risks.)

So too e.g. **dāam dāan** "beer owner", **tìəŋ dāan** "bearded man", **pōog lā dāan** "the owner of the field" Mt 21:40, **pù-pìəlim dāan** "holy person"; even manner nouns can appear as predeterminers here: **būgusígā dāan** "softly-softly sort of person" W.

Dāan_a follows a cif in a few set expressions, e.g. **yī-dāan_a/yī-sób_a** "householder" and **tèŋ-dāan_a** "traditional earth-priest"; cf also (*a*)**naas-daan** "owner of four [horns]", **poi-daan** "owner of seven [horns]" G2 p35, where the first element has the form of a number used in counting, with or without a prefixed **a-**.

Quantifier-form numbers precede **dāan_a** to make ordinals §9.5.1.

Before gerunds, free dependents represent subjects; generic-argument cifs may precede the head, and VP adjuncts and final particles may follow:

ya antu'a morim koto ni ne taaba la
yà àntuà'-mōrím kótò ní nē tāabā lā

2p case-having court at with each.other the

"your going to law with each other in court" 1 Cor 6:7 B1

Nidib la daa gur Zakaria yiib na.

Nīdīb lā dāa gūr Zakaria yīib nā.

person.PL the TNS watch Zechariah exit hither

"The people were watching for Zechariah to come out." Lk 1:21

Deverbal nouns may follow cifs representing generic arguments or adjuncts. Noun-adjective compounds as arguments appear in sg/pl form, e.g. **fū-zéndà kùəs** "dyed-cloth seller."

With agent nouns the cif usually represents an object if the verb is transitive, but other complement types and adjuncts also appear. Such compounds are freely coined and are generally transparent, but there are many idiomatic set expressions.

nīn-kōūd_a	"murderer"	bù-kōūd_a'	"goat-killer"
bù-zān_l	"goat-holder"	wìd-kùəs_a	"horse-seller"
bù-kùəs_a	"goat-seller"	sàlìm-kùəs_a	"gold-seller"
dā-nūud_a	"beer-drinker"	dà-kīəd_a	"wood-cutter"
zīm-gbân'ad_a	"fisher"	kònb-kīm_{na}	"herder, shepherd"
làmpō-dí'əs_a	"tax collector"	tàn-mēəd_a	"builder"
bùl-sīgıd_a'	"well-diver"	zà'-nō-gúr_a	"gatekeeper"
nō-dí'əs_a	"chief's spokesman" ("command-receiver")		
gbàuy-mī'id_a'	"scribe" ("book-knower")		
puà'-sān'am_{ma}	"adulterer" ("wife-spoiler")		
tùən-gāt_a	"leader" (Ò gàad tūən "He's gone ahead")		
nyā'an-dól_{la}	"disciple" (nyá'an_a "behind", dól_{la}' "go with")		
puà'-lā'ad_a	"laugher at women" (Ò là'ad pū'ab "He laughs at women") W		

Consultants freely produce agent nouns in isolation; B has, among others, *bāŋīd_a* "wise man", *fāānd_a* "robber", *pā'an_{na}* "teacher." However, a preceding *cif* is usual; it may be just a corresponding gerund:

<i>màal-māan_{na}</i>	"sacrificer"	<i>zī-zīid_a</i>	"carrier-on-head"
<i>tù'as-tù'as_a</i>	"talker"	<i>zàb-zàb_a</i>	"warrior"
<i>zòt-zòt_a</i>	"racer, athlete"	<i>tòm-tòm_{na}</i>	"worker"

Cifs occur before deverbal instrument nouns in object or adjunct senses:

<i>sjà-lōodíŋ_a</i>	"belt" ("waist-tier")
<i>nīn-gótìs</i>	"spectacles" ("eye-lookers")

Cifs before gerunds may represent subjects if the verb can be intransitive; otherwise, they are complements or adjuncts:

<i>nōb-kōor</i>	"breaking a leg"	<i>nū'-módur</i>	"swelling of the hand"
<i>nīn-kōur</i>	"murder"	<i>dā-nūur</i>	"beer-drinking"
<i>wìn-līir</i>	"sunset" (<i>Winnìg lí yā</i> "The sun has fallen")		
<i>sūn-sān'ʉŋ_o</i>	"sorrow" (<i>Ṁ sūnf sān'am nē</i> "My heart is spoilt")		
<i>sūn-pēen_n</i>	"anger" (<i>Ṁ sūnf pēlìg nē</i> "My heart is white")		
<i>nō-lōor</i>	"fasting" ("mouth-tying")		
<i>fū-yêer</i>	"shirt-wearing" (<i>W</i> , nonce form)		
<i>puà'-dūr</i>	"marriage" (<i>Ò dī puā'</i> "He's married a wife")		
<i>Sāmán-píer</i>	traditional New Year ("Courtyard-cleaning")		
<i>Bùgúm-tōŋr</i>	Fire Festival ("Fire-throwing")		
<i>nīn-baal-zōor</i>	"pity" (<i>Ò zòtō· nīn-baalìg</i> "He has pity on him")		
<i>mò-pīlì</i>	"grass roof" ("covering with grass")		
<i>kùm-vū'ʉgír</i>	"resurrection" (<i>Ò vū'ʉg kūmī·n</i> "He revived from death")		

Deadjectival abstracts after *cifs* behave as if derived from bahuvrihis §9.7.1:

<i>pù-pièlìm</i>	"holiness" (<i>pù-pièlì</i> "righteous person")
<i>sūn-kpí'ʉŋ_o</i>	"boldness" ("strong-heartedness")
<i>wīn-tōog_o</i>	"ill fortune" ("bitter-fatedness")

With unspecialised heads, free definite and/or count predependents express kinship, body part membership, or ownership:

m̄ bīig	"my child"
dāu lā bīig	"the man's child"
dāu lā bīēr bīig nāaf zòur	"the man's elder brother's child's cow's tail"
Nimbe'og yir na san'am.	"The house of the wicked will be destroyed."
Nīn-bê'og yír nà sān'am.	Prv 14:11
person-bad house IR spoil	
nà'ab lā wīef zòur	"the chief's horse's tail" (the chief has a horse)

Cif predependents are non-referential. With unspecialised heads, they have very general quasi-adjectival senses; idiosyncratic meanings often develop.

nà'ab lā wíd-zòur	"the chief's horse-tail" (the chief may not own a complete horse at all)
bì-fūg _o '	"children's shirt" (suitable for children)
wāb-móogū·n	"in bush where there are elephants" W
zà'-nōor'	"gate" ("compound-mouth")
mà-bīig _a	"sibling" ("mother-child")
bā'-bīig _a	"half-sibling" ("father-child")
tèŋ-bīig _a	"native" ("country-child")

[Nāaf-bīn'isím "cow's milk" W and bōog-bīn'isím "goat's milk" W show dependents of sg form followed by compound tone sandhi.]

However, abstract predependents usually appear as indefinite free forms:

nā'am kúk	"throne" ("chieftaincy chair")
pè'usùg dōog	"temple" ("worship house")
tōlīgír bún	"heater" ("heating thing", also bōn-tólīgír)
dōgūb dút	"cooking pots"
līgūdī túmà	"expensive work" (līgūdī "money")
but tànp-sōb _a	"warrior" ("war person")

Language names here express ethnicity:

Nāsāal búgúm	"electricity" ("European fire")
nàsàa-sìlg _o	"aeroplane" ("European hawk")

Predependents expressing materials also appear as indefinite free forms. Unlike dependent cifs, these can be pronoun antecedents.

sālmā bótìŋ	"golden cup"
sālmā nē ānzúrɪfà lâ'ad	"gold and silver goods"
fūug dôog	"tent" (cloth hut)
dàad bún-nám	"wooden things" (dàugɔ "piece of wood")
sālmā lâ'ad né ò bŭtīɪs	"gold goods and [gold] cups" W

The construction is limited to this specific sense: thus *kɔ̀à'-n̄wīg_a'* "current" ("aquatic rope"), not **kù'əm n̄wīg* "rope made of water."

Place NPs may be predependents:

dūniyā ní n̄n-gbīŋ	"earthly body"
kōlɪgī·n n̄ó-dāug	"crayfish" ("in-the-river cock")
kù'əmī·n bún	"water creature"
zūgú·n níf-gbáɯŋ	"upper eyelid"
tēŋī·n níf-gbáɯŋ	"lower eyelid"
mōogŭ·n/yín bún-kónbìd	"wild/tame animals"
Bòk díɪm	"Bawku people"
dàgòbìg níf	"left eye"

Buligin zìŋ zì' kōlɪgin yelaa.

Bùlɪgī·n zīŋ zī' kōlɪgī·n yélāa·.

pool·at fish NG.know river·at about·NG

Proverb: "A fish in a pool doesn't know about the river." (Naden)

So may NPs with *yélá* "about":

Kūsâas kûəb nē yīr yélà gbàɯŋ	"a book about Kusaasi farming and housing"
dàɯ-kànā lā yélà gbàɯŋ	"a book about that man" W

For *yīgá* "firstly" as a predependent see §9.5.1.

9.7 Postdependents

Dependents follow head nouns in the order adjective(s), quantifier, dependent pronoun, appositive, article or *nwà* "this." Before adjectives and dependent pronouns a head is reduced to a cif, with the dependent inflecting to show its number; the cif is thus a regular part of each noun or adjective paradigm.

Deverbal abstract nouns with predependent subjects (above) may be followed by any VP complements or adjuncts. VP adjuncts as NP postdependents are otherwise doubtful. *Ōn sōb á nē dú'atà àmēḡá lā* "That one's the real doctor" W contrasts with *Manē an vain tiig la amēḡa* "I am the true vine" Jn 15:1, where *amēḡa* is a VP adjunct; *nwādīs yūm lā pūḡū·n* "months in the year" S and *wābōḡ mōḡū·n lā* "elephant in the bush" W may not have been single constituent NPs in their original contexts.

Except for *yīgá* "firstly", quantifiers as determiners follow the head. Cif heads appear only before *yīnní* "one" and with *dà-* "day" before numbers without prefixes.

Demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns appear as dependent determiners after a noun or noun-adjective compound cif, or after a quantifier:

<i>bīg_a</i>	"child"	<i>bì-kàḡā´</i>	"this child"
<i>bì-sō´</i>	"a certain child"	<i>bì-sùḡ-kàḡā´</i>	"this good child"
<i>Bì-kàḡè?</i>	"which child?"	<i>Bì-bó?</i>	"what child?"

yēl-tōḡd àtān' bāmḡā "these three plagues" Rev 9:18

Appositive postdependents may be relative clauses or personal names. Relative clauses *must* appear as appositives after heads which cannot form cifs, and *may* do so after those that could; appositive relative clauses, unlike others, need not be interpreted as restrictive. Appositives follow dependent pronouns: *dau kaḡa onē ka Wina'am Siig bēē o ni* "this man in whom God's Spirit is" Gn 41:38.

Appositive personal names retain the pronoun *à*:

Eenn, o zua Asibigi n kabirid.	"Yes, it's his friend Termite asking entry."
<i>Ēēn, ò zḡà à Sībḡḡ·n kāburíd.</i>	G2 p12
yes 3a friend PZ termite + ask.entry.IPF	

9.7.1 Adjectives

An adjective follows a cif head, and inflects as sg/pl/cif on behalf of the head:

<i>nūa´</i>	"hen"	<i>nōḡs´</i>	"hens"
<i>nō-píə̀lḡ_a</i>	"white hen"	<i>nō-píə̀lìs</i>	"white hens"
<i>nō-súḡ_ḡ</i>	"good hen"	<i>nō-súmà</i>	"good hens"
<i>nō-píə̀l-kàḡā´</i>	"this white hen"	<i>nō-súḡ-kàḡā´</i>	"this good hen"

Adjectives may only be heads in predicatives §10.7.2; even there, **nīn-** "person" or **bōn-** "thing" are usually supplied as heads. Adjective cifs can never be heads: "this white one" must be **bōn-píəl-kàṅā**.

Ipf verbal adjective forms with no preceding cif are equivalent to agent nouns, so **bōn-** distinguishes e.g. **bōn-kúvdír** "thing to do with killing" from **kúvdír** "killer."

Compounds with adjectives may develop specialised lexical meanings, e.g. **nū'-bíl_a** "finger" ("small hand"); **tì-sābílím** a traditional remedy ("black medicine"); **gòñ'-sābílíg_a** "*Acacia hockii*" ("black thorn"); **bōn-gíṅ_a** "short chap" (humorous); **bōn-kúdvog_o** "old man" (the standard expression.)

There are isolated set forms showing traces of the old agreement system; the dependents do not regularly appear with the class suffixes seen in

là'-bīəlíf_o	"small coin" B1 (lā'af_o "cowrie", bī'əlá "a little")
dàbìs-sī'ər	"some day" (dàbìsìr "day")
yēl-súm_n	"blessing" (yēl'í "matter", sùṅ_o "good")
puà'-pāal_a'	"bride" (puā' "wife", pāalíg_a "new")

For W (not D) and in many texts, **mɛ|** nouns must take adjectives in **-mɛ:**

dā-pāalím	"new beer"	tì-sābílím	"black medicine"
tì-vōnním	"oral medication"	kpā-sóṅndìm	"anointing oil"

So too **bōn_n** as "abstract thing", e.g. **bōn-nyétìm** "visible world" versus **bōn-nyétìr** "visible object"; **bōn-bóṅdìm** "desirable thing" (1 Cor 14:1, of **nòṅlím** "love.")

Adjective sg forms may show apocope-blocking as a downtoner (all K):

Lì à nē fū-píəlìgā.	"It's a whitish shirt."
Lì à nē fū-píəlìgā lā.	"It's the whitish shirt."
Lì à nē wíug.	"It's red."
Lì à nē wíugō.	"It's reddish."
fū-wíugō lā	"the reddish shirt"
Lì à nē tītā'arī.	"It's biggish."

Adjectives and their derived 1vbs may be immediately followed by intensifier ideophones, specific to particular adjectives and the corresponding verbs (all W):

Lì à nē píəlìg fáss fáss.	"It's very white."
Lì à nē sābílíg zím zím.	"It's deep black."
Lì à nē zín'a wím wím.	"It's deep red."

M̄ nyé fū-zín'a wím wím.	"I've seen a deep red shirt."
Fū-zín'a wím wím bé.	"There's a deep red shirt."
M̄ bôod fū-zín'a wím wím lā.	"I want the deep red shirt."
Ò wà'am tóllìlì.	"She's very tall."
Ò gìm nē tírgà.	"She's very short."

Not even all gradable adjectives/1vbs have intensifiers; W could supply none for e.g. sùṅṅṅ "good", bē'ed "bad", zùlòṅṅ "deep", mā'asíḡa "damp."

Noun-adjective compounds may be used as bahuvrihi adjectives:

Lì à nē nū'-kpíílúṅ.	"It's a dead hand."
Bīig lā á nē nū'-kpíílúṅ.	"The child is dead-handed."
Ò à nē bí-nū'-kpíílúṅ.	"He's a dead-handed child."
kùḡ-nōb-wókṅ	"long-legged stool"
Kùḡ-kàṅā á nē nōb-wók.	"This stool is long-legged." W
nōb-ḡíṅa	"short-legged"
zūḡ-máukṅ	"crushed-headed"
zè-wōkṅ'	"long-tailed"
zū-péelòḡṅ	"bald"
pè-pìèlḡ	"righteous"

"One of a pair" adjectives are often so used: nīf-nyáukṅ "one eye", bà-nīf-nyáukṅ "one-eyed dog"; túb-yīyṅṅ' "one ear" bì-túb-yīnā "one-eared children."

The adjective may be pl despite the whole compound being sg: bì-túb-kpīdā "deaf child" (pl bì-túb-kpīdā nám_a/bì-túb-kpīd_s); bì-túb-līd "child/children with blocked ears."

Human-reference nouns appear as adjectives after human-reference heads:

bì-sāan _a '/-sáanḡa	"strange child"	bù-sáanḡa	"strange goat"
bì-kpī'um/-kpīílúṅṅ	"dead child"	bù-kpīílúṅṅ	"dead goat"
bì-dāy/-dāvḡṅ	"male child"	bù-dāvḡṅ	"male goat"
bì-sīn _{na} '/-sīnníḡa	"silent child"	bù-sīnníḡa	"silent goat"

Similarly bì-puā'/-puāk_a "female child"; bì-zū'əm' /-zùn_zòṅṅ "blind child"; bì-gìk_a "dumb child"; bì-wàbur "lame child"; bì-bālērṅṅṅ' "ugly child"; bì-pòñ'or "crippled child"; nà'-bīig_a/bì-nà'ab_a "prince"; dày-bīig_a/bì-dāy "male child"; nàsàa-bīig_a "European child", bī-púj-yammòḡ_a "slave girl", yàm(mòḡ)-bī-púj_a "girl slave."

Agent nouns can only be adjectival after cifs which could not be complements; thus puà'-zàans_a "woman prone to dreaming" K, but only puà'-kūud_a' "killer of women" W, puà'-lā'ad_a "laughter at women" W; contrast puà'-kūudíḡ_a "murderous woman", puà'-lā'adīḡ_a "woman given to laughing."

9.7.2 *Lā* and *nwà*

Lā' and *nwà* are corresponding deictic particles "that" and "this." They stand finally in the NP (which may itself be a dependent before another NP) except for VP-final particles in nominalised clauses, which may follow attached *lā'* §10.8.

Unlike *lā'*, *nwà* can stand alone as a NP:

Nwà á nē bīg.

this be FOC child

"This is a child." W; tones *sic*.

Lā' remains deictic in identificational clauses, but elsewhere it is usually a definite article, marking referents as specific and already established. It is not used with "familiar background", proper names, abstract mass nouns or vocatives, which are intrinsically definite, nor with pronouns, which are either intrinsically definite/indefinite or match their antecedents in definiteness:

Winnìg lí yā.

sun fall m/c

"The sun has set."

Nɔŋilim pɔ naada.

Nòŋìlím pō nāadá.

love NG finish.IPF·NG

"Love does not come to an end."

1 Cor 13:8

There is no indefinite article: a NP without *lā'* is indefinite if it could have taken *lā'* as an article. Indefinite NPs may be non-referential, as with negative-bound nouns and with the complement of *àɛ̀nyá* "be something" used ascriptively:

Ò nòŋìd kā'e.

3a lover NG.exist·NG

"Nobody loves him." W

Ò à nē bīg.

3a be FOC child

"She is a child."

Specific senses of indefinite NPs appear in presentational statements §12.5; elsewhere, they are normally generic. Unlike "the", *lā'* is not used generically:

One kunt mi zugub.

Ōnì· kùt mī' zūgōb.

DEMa·NZ work.iron.IPF know bellows.working

Proverb: "The ironworker knows how to work the bellows." (Naden)

10 Verb phrases

A verb phrase (VP) consists of a verb with its right-bound particles and enclitics, followed in order by any free complements, adjuncts, or final particles. The focus particle *nē'* may be inserted at various points after the verb and enclitics §12.1.

Bound words occur in fixed order around the verb:

Tense	Mood	Subverb		E1	E2
dàa	∅~pū	pùn	VERB	n	ma
sàa	∅~dā	tì		ya/n	f _o
∅	nà~kù	lèm			o
pà'		kpèlìm			l _i
sà		là'am			tu
dāa		dèngìm			ya
dà					ba

∅ marks positions where absence is itself meaningful. Tense is marked by preverbal particles; a small set of adjunct particles may appear in the tense slot alongside tense particles. Mood particles also mark polarity: positive~negative. Future reference is signified by an irrealis *mood*. Aspect is marked by verb flexion. E1 is the slot for the discontinuous-past enclitic *n* or 2pS *ya/n*; E2 for (at most one) enclitic direct/indirect object pronoun. The VP shows no agreement: apparent number agreement in imperatives is due to 2pS *ya/n*.

The VP of main and content clauses carries m/c marking. This is primarily tonal, with associated segmental features: the particle *yā* after phrase-final pfs and the 2vb imperative flexion *ma* appear only when tone overlay is present on the verb.

10.1 Aspect

2vbs inflect for aspect, suffixing *ε* for perfective and *da* for imperfective (for the suffix *ma* see §10.6); 1vbs are ipf. The focus particle *nē'* has temporal uses which interact with aspect, in effect marking pfs as stative and ipfs as progressive §12.1.

Perfective is the unmarked aspect. In absolute clauses, pf implies priority to the main clause, ipf simultaneity with it §11.4.1; in catenation, pfs must follow event order §11.3.1; and narrative uses series of tense-unmarked pfs in event order. However, pf is also the usual aspect in protases of conditional clauses, and (in irrealis mood) for future events. It is compatible with present tense, with no overt or implicit tense marking. With most verbs this expresses a completed event or process with time unspecified, implying current relevance (a "present perfect"):

Sāa dāa ní.

rain TNS rain

"It rained."

but Sāa ní yā.

rain rain m/c

"It has rained." W: "Perhaps the grass is still wet, or I am explaining that the area is not really a desert."

With events and processes conceptualised as being coextensive with the moment of utterance, pf often corresponds to an English simple present; performatives fall into this category, along with verbs of cognition and perception:

Fù wóm yā kúv·?

2s hear m/c or·PQ

"Do you understand?"

M̂ pú'us yā.

1s greet m/c

"I thank you."

M̂ sjàk yā.

1s agree m/c

"I agree."

M̂ nyé nū'-bíbísá ·àtán'.

1s see finger.PL three

"I can see three fingers."

M̂ tēn'es kà ...

1s think and

"I think that ..."

Verbs expressing a change of state in the subject can use pf to express the resulting state; temporal-focus *nē'* follows if syntactically permitted. Most such verbs are intransitive, but verbs of dressing (for example) also imply a subject state change:

Lì bòdìg nē.

3i lose FOC

"It's lost."

(Lì bòdìg yā "It's got lost.")

M̂ yé nē fūug.

1s don FOC shirt

"I'm wearing a shirt."

(M̂ yé fūug "I've put a shirt on.")

Similarly *ò kpì nē* "he's dead"; *m̂ gén nē* "I'm tired"; *bà kùdòg nē* "they're old"; *lì pè'el nē* "it's full"; *lì yò nē* "it's closed"; *m̂ búg nē* "I'm drunk"; *ò lèr nē* "he's ugly" W; *lì sòbìg nē* "it's black" W, and likewise with many other verbs.

Pfs appear in proverbs expressed as mini-anecdotes:

Kukoma da zab taaba ason'e bi'ela yela.

Kùkòmà dá zàb tāabá à sǎn'e bī'elá yèlà.

leper.PL TNS fight each.other PZ surpass slightly about

"Lepers once fought each other about who was a bit better." G2 p40

Imperfective may express a propensity, multiple events, a quality, or a relationship; with temporal focus §12.1 it may have a progressive sense, or express a propensity or multiple events over a limited time:

Nīigí òn̄b̄ìd mōɔd.

cow.PL chew.IPF grass.PL

"Cows eat grass."

Nā'-sǐɔbà ón̄b̄ìd nē mōɔd.

cow-IDFp chew.IPF FOC grass.PL

"Some cows are eating grass."

M̄ zín'i.

M̄ zín'i nē.

Kùlìŋ lā yôɔd.

Kùlìŋ lā yôɔd nē.

Nīdīb kp̄iid.

Nīdīb kp̄iid nē.

"I sit."

"I'm sitting."

"The door closes." (i.e. can be closed)

"The door is closing."

"People die."

"People are dying."

M̄ mór p̄yā'.

1s have wife

"I have a wife."

With quality or relationship verbs, and in ipf middle constructions §10.7.1, temporal focus implies a temporary state or propensity, and is only felicitous if the clause contains a time adjunct, or at least a past tense marker:

Mù'ar lā zúlìm.

lake the be.deep

"The lake is deep."

Mù'ar lā dāa zúlìm nē.

lake the TNS be.deep FOC

"The lake *was* deep." (Now it's shallow.)

10.2 Tense

Mutually exclusive tense particles appear in the first slot of the VP.

dàa	day after tomorrow	sàa	tomorrow
∅	present/implicit		
pà'	earlier today	sà	yesterday
dāa	before yesterday	dà	before the time of dāa

In addition, the discontinuous-past enclitic **n** can mark an earlier-today past:

M̐ ɔ̀nbɔ̀dī·n sūmmā.

"I was eating groundnuts." W

1s chew.IPF·DP groundnut.PL

This implies "but now I'm not." In many languages such "discontinuous" pasts (Plungian/van der Auwera) acquire hypothetical/counterfactual senses: this is much the commonest role of **n** in Kusaal §11.2.3. The cognate Farefare enclitic *ni* behaves in the same way (Niggli 2007 p111.)

The day begins at sunrise:

F̀ò sá gb̀is wēlá·?

"How did you sleep last night?"

2s TNS sleep how·CQ

Future tense markers normally require irrealis mood, but imperative is possible when the main clause has been ellipted before a purpose clause:

Ò sáa ǹwè' b̀òŋ lā.

"Let him hit the donkey tomorrow."

3a TNS hit donkey the

Indicative ipf is not used as a future. Note the performative *pf* in

M̐ kúl yā.

"I'm going home (now.)"

1s go.home m/c

However, there are two periphrastic future constructions for "to be about to": **b̀òòda** "want" + gerund, and subject (always animate) + **yē**-purpose clause:

Ỳu'ɔ̀ŋ b̀òòd gaad̀ɔ̀g

"Night is about to pass" Rom 13:12

Ỳú'ɔ̀ŋ b̀òòd gáad̀ò̀g

night want passing

Ṁ yé ìn kuā sūmmā.

1s that 1s hoe groundnut.PL

"I'm going to hoe groundnuts."

Dà denotes time prior to dāa:

Ka Yesu daa keŋ Nazaret ban da ugus o teŋ si'a la.

Kà Yesu dāa kēŋ Nazaret bán dà ūgusó· téŋ-sī'a lā.

and Jesus TNS go Nazareth 3p.NZ TNS raise-3a land-IDF the

"Jesus went to Nazareth, where he had been raised." Lk 4:16 B2

However, dāa can be used for even remote past. Parallel B passages may use either dāa or dà, e.g. *O da bodigne, O daa bodigne* Lk 15:24, 32 B2 "He was lost." In B1/2, daa is the usual past marker in narrative, with da mostly for "pluperfects", parentheses, background remarks, and quoted parables or historical accounts (e.g. Acts 7:1-53 B2), but in B3 and G2 da is the default past marker.

Tense markers are often absent, but their omission is not arbitrary. Outside of already-established past contexts, indicative-mood clauses containing neither time adverbials nor tense particles must be interpreted as present, regardless of aspect:

Nīdīb kpīid.

"People die."

Ò m̀òr p̄uā'.

"He has a wife."

Ò kpì yā.

"She's died." ("present perfect")

Tense markers may be omitted with the irrealis mood, with today-past n, or with time adjuncts in the clause:

F̀ò ná k̄ūl.

2s IR go.home

"You will go home."

F̀ò sáa nà k̄ūl.

2s TNS IR go.home

"You'll go home tomorrow."

F̀ò [sáa] nà k̄ūl b̄ēog.

2s TNS IR go.home tomorrow

"You'll go home tomorrow."

Ṁ [pá'] ò̀n̄b̄d̄ī·n sūmmā.

1s TNS chew.IPF·DP groundnut.PL

"I was eating groundnuts earlier today."

Ṁ [sá] n̄wè' b̄úŋ lā s̄ú'əs.

1s TNS hit donkey the yesterday

"I hit the donkey yesterday."

Narrative involves systematic meaningful omission of past tense markers.

In B narrative, main clauses not introduced by *kà* and not containing a time adjunct are normally tense-marked (> 80% in Acts 1-12 B2.) Less formal narratives (e.g. "Three Brigands" in §14) lack tense-marking in clauses without *kà* more often: this is analogous to the "historic present" of English informal narration (CGEL p130.)

On the other hand, clauses introduced by *kà* regularly omit tense marking when narrating a sequence of events in order, containing tense markers if and only if they signal disruptions in the narrative flow like flashbacks, asides or descriptions. Narrative favours long sequences of coordinated *kà*-clauses with pf aspect and no tense marking, with *kà* corresponding to zero in English.

Apuzotyel *da* ane o saam biig ma'aa. Ka daar yinni ka biig la ne o saam zin'i sonsid. Ka biig la ti yel o saam ...

À Pw-zót-yēl dá à né ò sàam bìig mà'aa. Kà dāar yīnní kà bìig lā

PZ NG-fear.IPF-matter TNS be FOC 3a father child only and day one and child the

né ò sàam zín'i · sōnsīd. Kà bìig lā tí yèl ò sàam ...

with 3a father sit + converse.IPF and child the next say 3a father

"Fears-nothing was his father's only son. One day the son and father were sitting talking. The son said to his father ..." G2 p35

Ka Yesu *daa* an yoma pii ne ayi' la, ka ba keŋ malɔŋ la wɔɔ ban ɛenti niŋid si'em la. Ka malɔŋ la dabisa naae la, ka ba lɛbidi kun. Ka Yesu kpelim Jerusalem teŋin ka o ba' ne o ma pu baŋ ye o kpelim yaa. Ba *daa* ten'es ye o dɔlne ba teŋ dim la, ka keŋ ...

Kà Yesu· dāa án yómà pīi né àyí' lā, kà bà kēŋ málòŋ lā wɔɔ bán ēen tí

and Jesus·NZ TNS be year.PL ten with two the and 3p go sacrifice the like 3p.NZ usually

niŋìd sī'em lā. Kà màlòŋ lā dábɔsà· nāe lā, kà bà lébɪdì · kūn.

do.IPF how the and sacrifice the day.PL·NZ finish the and 3p return.IPF + go.home.IPF

Kà Yesu kpèlìm Jerusalem téŋī·n kà ò bā' né ò mà pū báŋ yé

and Jesus remain Jerusalem land-at and 3a father with 3a mother NG realise that

ò kpèlìm yāa·. Bà dāa tēn'es yé ò dòl né bà tēŋ-dìm lā, kà kēŋ ...

3a remain m/c-NG 3p TNS think that 3a accompany FOC 3p land-person.PL the and go

"When Jesus was twelve years old, they went to the sacrifice as they usually did. When the days of the sacrifice were over, they were going home, but Jesus remained behind in Jerusalem, and his father and mother didn't realise that he had stayed. They thought that he was accompanying their fellow-countrymen. And they went ..." Lk 2:42-44

Among dozens of clauses *kà* X *dụá'* Y "X begat Y" in Matthew 1.1ff B2:

Ka David du'a Solomon. O ma *da* ane Uria po'a. Ka Solomon du'a Rehoboam.

Kà David *dụá'* Solomon. *Ò mà dá à nē* Uria *pụá'*.

and David beget Solomon 3a mother TNS be FOC Uria wife

Kà Solomon *dụá'* Rehoboam.

and Solomon beget Rehoboam

"David begat Solomon. His mother was Uria's wife. Solomon begat Rehoboam."

In contrast, the genealogy in Luke 3:23ff B2 moves backwards in time and has dozens of consecutive examples of *ka X saam da ane Y* "X's father was Y." Long series of coordinated "asides" may drop tense marking; B3 here shows *ka X saam da ane Y* at the beginning of paragraphs in the text, but *ka X saam an Y* otherwise.

The distinctive character of *kà*-clauses with pf aspect and no tense marking was confirmed by presenting them in isolation to consultants; they were always interpreted as expressing events, requiring the particle *nē'* to be interpreted as constituent focus, never temporal; tense marking permitted temporal focus.

Lì bòdìg nē.

3i get.lost FOC

"It's lost."

Kà lì bódìg nē.

and 3i get.lost FOC

Rejected by W; accepted after some thought by D, explained as denying "someone hid it": constituent focus

Bà kùdìg nē.

3p get.old FOC

"They're old."

Kà bà kúdìg nē.

and 3p get.old FOC

"And they're old." Rejected by W; accepted by D with the gloss "You're saying they're old when he promised to give you new ones": constituent focus

but *Kà lì dāa bódìg nē.*

and 3i TNS get.lost FOC

"And it was lost."

Kà bà sá kùdìg nē.

Kà bà dāa kúdìg nē.

both acceptable as "and they were old."

Tense-unmarked ipfs can appear (without temporal focus) in narrative to express several instances of an event:

Ka on kpèn' la, o yèli ba ye [...] Ka ba la'ad o.

Kà ón kpèn' lā, ò yéì·bā yē [...] Kà bà lá'adō.

and 3a.NZ enter the 3a say-3p that and 3p laugh.IPF-3a

"After he came in, he said to them [...] But they laughed at him." Mk 5:39-40

Tense marking is unaffected by conjunctions:

Amaa ba da zot o ne dabiem, ban da pu niŋ o yadda ye o sid ane nya'andol la zug. Amaa ka Barnabas zaŋ Saul n mōr o keŋ ...

Àmáa bà dà zòtō· nē dábīēm, bán dà pū níŋò· yáddā yé ò sìd

but 3p TNS fear.IPF-3a FOC fear 3p.NZ TNS NG do-3a trust that 3a truly

à nē ñyā'an-dól lā zúg. Àmáa kà Barnabas záŋ Saul n mōró· · kēŋ ...

be FOC disciple the on but and Barnabas take Saul + have-3a + go

"But they were afraid of him, because they did not believe that he was really a disciple. But Barnabas brought Saul ..." Acts 9:26-27

Interruptions in the narrative may contain clauses coordinated with *kà*; tense marking is not repeated after the first, but such clauses can have any aspect:

Ba da pu mor biiga, bozugo Elizabet da ane kundu'ar, ka babayi la wusa me kudigne.

Bà dà pū mōr bīigā·, bō zúgō Elizabet dá à nē kúndò'ar

3p TNS NG have child-NG because Elizabeth TNS be FOC barren.woman

kà bà bàyí' lā wūsā mé kùdìg nē.

and 3p two the all also get.old FOC

"They had no child, as Elizabeth was barren and both were old." Lk 1:7 B2

Nominalised clauses mark tense relative to the narrative timeline:

ka dau tami o po'a la sa yel o si'el la

kà dāu támmì ·ò pūā' lá· sà yèlò· sī'el lā

and man forget 3a wife the-NZ TNS say-3a IDFi the

"but the man forgot what his wife had told him the previous day" G2 p26

Main clauses lack tense marking after absolute clauses proposed with *kà* §12.4, whether or not *kà* also precedes, or the absolute clause is tense-marked (97% in Mark, Luke, and Acts 1-14 B1.) With absolute-clause adjuncts *after kà*, marking in main and absolute clauses agrees and follows the usual rules for narrative (88%.)

10.3 Tense-slot adjuncts

Tense-slot adjuncts precede any mood/polarity markers.

Sādígím "since" §11.4.1 also precedes any tense markers; **yū'bn** "then, next", **sìd** "truly" and **lèε** "but" usually do so too (B3 has 51 cases of *sid da* to 5 of *da sid*; 15 of *lèε da* to 1 of *da lèε*.)

Josua yū'bn da kùdigya. "Then Joshua grew old." Jo 13:1
Josua yū'bn dá kùdìg yā.
 Joshua then TNS grow.old m/c

O sid kpiya. "He's really died." Mk 15:44
Ò sìd kpì yā.
 3a truly die m/c

Ò sìd dāa á nē nā'ab. "Truly, he was a chief." W
 3a truly TNS be FOC chief

Ka man pian'ad la lee ku gaade. "But my words will not pass away."
Kà mān piān'ad lā léε kù gāadē. Mt 24:35 B2
 and 1s speech the but NG.IR pass·NG

amaa lèε pu'usimi Wina'am bareka "but thank God" Eph 5:4
àmáa lèε pù'usimī· Wínà'am bártkà
 but but greet.IMP·2pS God blessing

For W, **lèε** carries any m/c tone overlay §10.6; he corrected **Lèε gòsìm nā'ab lā!** to **Lèε gōs nā'ab lā!** "But look at the chief!"

Nàm "still" (with negatives, "yet"), **nyēε (tí)** (K **ēēn tí**, B1/2 *nyii ti*, B3 *εenti*) "habitually" and **kūlīm/kūdīm** "always" follow any tense particles.

ba nam pu kuu fo "they haven't killed you yet" G2 p28
bà nàm pū kúv·fō·
 3p still NG kill·2s·NG

Tìum lā nám bèε? "Is there any medicine left?"
 medicine the still exist·PQ

Hor dim la me da εenti be Seir. "The Horites too used to live in Seir."
 Hor díμ lā mé dà ēēñ tí bè Seir. Dt 2:12
 Hor Øp the also TNS habit exist Seir

On ne o pu'a Prisila daa kodim nan yine Room
 Ōñ né ò pṵā' Prisila dāa kōdīm nám yī nē Room
 3a with 3a wife Priscilla TNS ever still exit FOC Rome
 "He and his wife Priscilla had just arrived from Rome" Acts 18:2

Nyāan/nāan "next, afterwards", **nāan** §11.2.3 "in that case" and **pà' tì** "perhaps" do not occur with tense markers. **Nyāan** usually appears in **kà**-clauses in narrative.

Ka Zugsoḅ sṵnf nyaan yṵ'ṵn mā'ae. "Then the Lord's anger subsided."
 Kà Zūg-sóḅ súnf nyāan yṵ'ṵn mā'e. Jo 7:26
 and Lord heart next then cool

Onε pa'ati an Kristo la bæε? "Perhaps he is the Christ?" Jn 4:29
 Ōñī · pá' tì àñ Kristo lā bæε?
 3a + perhaps be Christ the or-PQ

10.4 Mood and negation

There are three moods: indicative, imperative and irrealis. Mood-marking particles also express polarity; they appear after tense markers but before subverbs. Imperative marking involves a flexion which also marks m/c. Negated VPs end with a negative enclitic §5.3.

Indicative is the unmarked mood. It is negated by **pṵ** (for some speakers **bṵ**, as in Toende Kusaal.) It is used for statements and questions about present, past and timeless events and states, and for immediate future in periphrastic constructions.

Ò nṵwè' búḡ lā. "He's hit the donkey."
 3a hit donkey the

Ò pṵ nṵwé' bùḡ lāa. "He hasn't hit the donkey."
 3a NG hit donkey the-NG

Ò vùl tṵm kà ò nóḅìr pṵ zábē. "She's taken medicine and her leg hasn't hurt." W
 3a swallow medicine and 3a leg NG fight-NG

Imperative mood is negated by **dā**. It is used in commands, prohibitions and purpose clauses, and after imperatives in catenation. 2vbs with m/c tone overlay take the flexion **-ma**, with pf sense by default; otherwise aspect is marked as usual. Nearly all verbs may be used in direct commands: cf *Vbe!* **Vùḡ!** "Live!" Ez 16:6. See §11.2.2 on 2pS *ya/n*.

Ñwè!em búḡ lā!

hit.IMP donkey the

"Hit the donkey!"

Dā ñwé' búḡ lāa·!

NG.IMP hit donkey the·NG

"Don't hit the donkey!"

Ò vùl t̄im kà ò nóbìr dā zábē·.

3a swallow medicine and 3a leg NG.IMP fight·NG

"She's taken medicine so her leg wouldn't hurt." W

K̄em nā n gōs!

come.IMP hither + look

"Come and look!"

Kòñsìm!

"Cough!"

Dā kónsē·!

NG.IMP cough·NG

"Don't cough!" (To a patient who just did cough, during an eye operation)

Dā kónsūdā·!

NG.IMP cough.IPF·NG

"Don't cough!" (Explaining beforehand what to avoid throughout)

Dòllī·ní·m!

"Come (pl) with me!"

Mòr nīn·báalḡ!

"Have pity!"

Béε ·ànínā!

"Be (i.e. stay) there!" S

Temporal **nḗ** cannot appear, but **àlá** "thus" here conveys a continuous sense:

Dìmí ·àlá!

"Carry on eating!"

Dìgī·ní ·àlá!

lie·2pS thus

"Keep on (pl) lying down."

Āa·ní ·àlá bāañlím!

be·2pS thus quietness

"Be (pl) quiet!"

Irrealis mood expresses future statements and questions, using the markers *nà* (positive), *kù* (negative), after which a directly following tp A subverb or verb changes all tones to M. Aspect is marked by verb flexion, but ipf is uncommon. Irrealis with past tense markers may be contrary-to-fact or future-in-the-past.

Ò *nà* *ńwē'* *búŋ* *lā*.

3a IR hit donkey the

"He'll hit the donkey."

Ò *kù* *ńwē'* *búŋ* *lāa*.

3a NG.IR hit donkey the·NG

"He won't hit the donkey."

Ò *dāa* *ná* *ńwē'* *búŋ* *lā*.

3a TNS IR hit donkey the

"He would have hit the donkey."
(but didn't, W)

one da na ti zam o

òní· *dà* *nà* *tī* *zámmò*·.

DEMa·NZ TNS IR next betray·3a

"who was going to betray him" Jn 6:71

Negative verbs replace certain negative particle + verb combinations.

Kā'ẹ (clause-final variant *kà'asìg*) replaces the indicative negative of *bè* "exist" always, of *àẹ̀ńya* "be something" except in contrasts, and often also of *mōra'* "have."

Ò *kā'* *bīigā*·.

3a NG.have child·NG

"She hasn't got/isn't a child."

Pụā' *lā* *mór* *bīig*, *àmáa* *dāy* *lā* *kā'e*·.

woman the have child but man the NG.have·NG

"The woman has a child but the man hasn't."

Dāy *lā* *kā'e*·.

man the NG.exist·NG

"The man isn't there."

Dāy *kā'ẹ* *dóogū·n* *lāa*·.

man NG.exist room-at the·NG

"There's no man in the room."

Dāy *lā* *kā'* *dóogū·n* *lāa*·.

man the NG.exist room-at the·NG

"The man is not in the room."

Ò *bīig* *ká'asìgē*·.

3a child NG.exist·NG

"She has no child."

Zī' (clause-final variant **zī'ʼsíg**) "not know" usually replaces indicative **pō mī'**:

Bòŋ-bāñ'ad zī' yē tēŋ túllā.

donkey-rider NG.know that ground be.hot·NG

Proverb: "He who rides a donkey does not know the ground is hot."

but **Ka o sid la pu mii.** "But her husband did not know." G2 p26

Kà ò sīd lā pō mī'i.

and 3a husband the NG know·NG

Mīt (B3 *mid*) "beware" is a defective 1vb used only in the imperative:

Miti ziri nodi'esidib bane kene ya sa'an na la.

Mītī· zīrī nò-dí'ə̀sìdìb bānì· kēnní ·yà sà'an nā lā.

beware-2pS lie linguist.PL DEMp·NZ come.IPF 2p among hither the

"Beware of false prophets who come among you." Mt 7:15 B2

Mīt kà ... is "do not let ..." §11.3.2. B3 omits the negative enclitic.

Subjects may precede. 2s/p subjects are dropped, except after clause adjuncts or in content clauses, and 2pS **ya/n** is not used.

O mid ka o lēbis bæ tiaki li

"He may not take it back or change it."

Ò míd kà ò lēbìs bæ tjàkì·lī

Lv 27:10

3a beware and 3a return or change:3i

Mit ka ya maal ya tuumsuma nidib tuon ye ba gosi.

Mīt kà yà m̄aal yà t̄uom-s̄umà n̄id̄ib t̄uən yé bà ḡōsē.

beware and 2p do 2p deed-good.PL person.PL front that 3p look·NG

"Don't do your good deeds in front of people so they see." Mt 6:1 B2

Only VPs can be negated. Constituent negation requires subordinate clauses:

Sò' len kae n paas o zugó.

"There is none beside him." Dt 4:35

S̄ò' lém k̄ā'e ·n p̄aas ò z̄ugó.

IDFa again NG.exist + add 3a on·NG

ka zan'as banε ka' Kristo nidib la s̄ŋir.

kà z̄ān'as b̄ānì· k̄ā' Kristo n̄id̄ib lā s̄ŋìr.

and refuse DEMp·NZ NG.be Christ person.PL the helping

"and refused the help of non-Christians." 3 Jn 1:7

10.5 Subverbs

Subverbs immediately precede the verb. Tonally, they behave as tp A verbs; they bear any m/c overlay or irrealis tone shift, and the verb keeps its intrinsic tones.

Pùn "previously, already" and **tì** "next, then" are root-stem subverbs:

Ò pùn ñwé' bùy lā.

3a already hit donkey the

"He's already hit the donkey."

Kà ò pún ñwè' bùy lā.

and 3a already hit donkey the

"And he's already hit the donkey."

hali ka Herod ti kpi.

hālí kà Herod tí kpi.

until and Herod next die

"until Herod had died." Mt 2:15

Kèm · tí ñyē dú'atà.

go.IMP + next see doctor

"Go to see the doctor." S

Βεογυ ti nied la ka ba gaad!

Bēogú· tì niəd lā kà bà gāad!

morning·NZ next appear.IPF the and 3p pass

"Before morning comes they have gone!"

Is 17:14

The rest are derived with **m**: **lèm** "again", **pō lém** + ipf "no more" (**lèb** "return"); **là'am** "together" (**là'am**, "associate with"); **dèngim** "beforehand" (**dèŋ** "go first"); **màlɔgim** "again" (Toende *mali* "do again"); **kpèlìm** + pf "immediately", + ipf "still" (**kpèlum**, "remain.") B3 uses **kpèn** for **kpèlìm**.

Ì nīf lém zàbìd nē.

1s eye again fight.IPF FOC

"My eye is hurting again."

Ì nīf pō lém zàbìdā.

1s eye NG again fight.IPF·NG

"My eye is not hurting any more."

Ò nà lēm ñwé' bùy lā.

3a IR again hit donkey the

"He'll hit the donkey again."

ka nidib wusa da la'am kpi ne o.

kà nīdīb wūsā dá là'am kpi nó.

and person.PL all TNS together die with·3a

"so all people died together with him."

2 Cor 5:14

Pin'ilugɔn sa ka Pian'ad la da pɔn dɛŋim bɛ.

Pīn'ilúgō·n sá kà Pjàn'ad lā dá pòn dèŋìm bè.

beginning-at hence and word the TNS already before exist

"In the beginning, the Word already existed." Jn 1:1

Amaa man pian'ad la kɔ maligim gaadɛ.

Àmáa mán pjàn'ad lā kú mālīgīm gáadē.

but 1s speech the NG.IR again pass·NG

"But my words will not pass away." Mt 24:35

Ka o kpelim zu'om.

Kà ò kpélìm zū'əm.

and 3a immediately go.blind

"Immediately he went blind."

Acts 13:11 B2

m biig Josef nan kpɛn vɔɛ.

̀m biīg Josef nám kpèn vōɛ.

1s child Joseph still still live

"My child Joseph is still alive." Gn 45:28

10.6 Main/content marking

The VP of a main or content clause has m/c marking. Marking is absent in all non-content subordinate clauses, and also in *main* clauses introduced by *kà*.

This marking is primarily by tone overlay and by subject-pronoun tone sandhi changes; the tone overlay is in some cases accompanied by segmental markers.

Tone overlay does not appear in negative polarity or irrealis mood, or after the tense marker *dāa*; subverbs carry the overlay instead of the following verbs.

The overlay changes all tones in the affected word to L. Affected words, regardless of their intrinsic tones, are always followed by M-spread, and show M tone (or H before fixed L tones) on the final syllable before liaison.

Tone overlay in main clauses (with M-spread after *̀m*):

̀M n̄wé' búŋ lā.

̀M gōs búŋ lā.

̀M sá n̄wè' búŋ lā.

̀M sá gōs búŋ lā.

"I've hit (*n̄wè'*) the donkey (*bùŋ_a*)."

"I've looked at (*gōs*) the donkey."

"I hit the donkey yesterday."

"I looked at the donkey yesterday."

but ̀m yá' n̄wè' bùŋ lā

̀m yá' gōs búŋ lā

mán n̄wè' bùŋ lā

mán gōs búŋ lā

"if I hit the donkey"

"if I look at the donkey"

"I having hit the donkey"

"I having looked at the donkey"

Kà m̀ ǹwé' b̀n̄ lā.
Kà m̀ ḡs b̀n̄ lā.

"And I hit the donkey."
"And I looked at the donkey."

M̄ p̄ ǹwé' b̀n̄ lāa.
M̄ p̄ ḡs b̀n̄ lāa.
M̄ dāa ǹwé' b̀n̄ lā.
M̄ dāa ḡs b̀n̄ lā.

"I haven't hit the donkey."
"I haven't looked at the donkey."
"I hit the donkey."
"I looked at the donkey."

Intrinsic tones before liaison with *m_a* "me", *ba* "them":

b̀d̄ḡi·m	b̀d̄ḡi·bā	b̀d̄ḡid̄i·m	ipf	"lose"
yā̄d̄ḡi·m	yā̄d̄ḡi·bā	yā̄d̄ḡid̄i·m	ipf	"scatter"

With tone overlay:

b̀d̄ḡi·m	b̀d̄ḡi·bá	b̀d̄ḡid̄i·m	ipf
yā̄d̄ḡi·m	yā̄d̄ḡi·bá	yā̄d̄ḡid̄i·m	ipf

M̄ kú̄d̄i·bá.

"I kill them."

1s kill.IPF·3p

M̄ kú̄d̄i·bà b̄̄s.

"I kill their goats."

1s kill.IPF 3p goat.PL

M -> H before fixed L tone

All of the bound subject pronouns are normally followed by M-spread:

Kà m̀ ǹwé' b̀n̄ lā.
Kà ò ǹwé' b̀n̄ lā.

"And I hit the donkey."
"And he hit the donkey."

However, in clauses with m/c marking, M-spread is always absent after *ò l̄i b̄a*, and is also absent after *m̀ f̄ù t̄i yà* if they are directly preceded by *yē* "that":

Ò ǹwè' b̀n̄ lā.

"He's hit the donkey."

Ò t̄èn'és kà ò ǹwè' b̀n̄ lā.

"He thinks he's hit the donkey."

3a think and 3a hit donkey the

Ò yèl̄ yé ò ǹwè' b̀n̄ lā.

"He says he's hit the donkey."

3a say that 3a hit donkey the

Ò yèl yé m̀ ǹwè' búḡ lā.

3a say that 1s hit donkey the

"He says I've hit the donkey."

but Ò tèn'és kà m̀ ǹwé' búḡ lā.

3a think and 1s hit donkey the

"He thinks I've hit the donkey."

This kind of tonal m/c marking is independent of tone overlay:

Ò k̀ ǹwē' búḡ lāa.

"He will not hit the donkey." (irrealis)

Ò yèl yé m̀ ǹa ǹwē' búḡ lā.

"He says I'll hit the donkey." (irrealis)

Ò l̀ēē dāa ǹwé' búḡ lā.

"But he hit the donkey." (dāa)

Tones in the B2 audio confirm that clauses subordinated by prepositions lack m/c marking: *wuu ba ane Kiristo ne wúu bà á nē Kiristo nē* "as if they were Christ" Eph 6:5; *asee o paae man àséé ò pāa mān* "unless he comes to me" Jn 14:6.

Two segmental markers appear after verbs with tone overlay (including tp A verbs, which otherwise appear unaltered apart from the M-spread following them.)

The flexion *ma* marks 2vb imperatives with tone overlay:

Gòs̀m!

"Look!"

Gòs̀mī·ní·bā!

look.IMP·2pS·3p

"Look (pl) at them!"

but Dā gòs̀ē!

NG.IMP look·NG

"Don't look!"

K̀èl kà ò gòs!

let.IMP and 3a look

"Let her look!"

Dòllī·ní·bā!

follow·2pS·3p

"Go (pl) with them!" (1vb)

The particle *yā* follows any VP-final pf carrying the tone overlay:

Ò sà gòs yā.

3a TNS look m/c

"She looked."

M̀ tèn'és kà ò gòs yā.

1s think and 3a look m/c

"I think she's looked."

but	Ò p̄ gōsē.	"He's not looked."
	Ò nà gōs.	"She'll look."
	Ò dāa gōs.	"He looked."
	Kà ò gōs.	"And he looked."
	Ò gòsī·m.	"He's looked at me." (not final)
	Ò gīm.	"She's short." (ipf)
	Ò nòŋ.	"She loves [him.]" W (ipf)

Yā remains M before the negative enclitic, and becomes L (not H) before the interrogative enclitics; this unique behaviour reflects its origin as a flexion.

Lì bòdìg nē·?	"Is it lost?" (nē´)
Lì bòdìg yàa·?	"Has it got lost?"

10.7 Complements and adjuncts

The order of arguments after the verb is indirect object, direct object, predicative complement, adjunct(s). Clause-final adjuncts are VP adjuncts; clause-level adjuncts precede the subject.

Clauses as complements and adjuncts are discussed in §11. Relative clauses §11.4.2 can appear in any NP role; *kà*-catenations §11.3.2 as complements of *kē* "let", *mìt* "beware", *nyē* "see", or as predicatives; purpose clauses §11.5 as complements of verbs of necessity, permission, intent or expectation, or as adjuncts; content clauses §11.6, relative clauses with *sī'əm* and absolute clauses §11.4.1 as complements of verbs of cognition and communication (alongside adverbials with *yēlá* §10.7.3.)

10.7.1 Objects

Strictly transitive verbs (including causatives in *-l/s* and all transitive 1vbs) require a direct object: if none appears, an anaphoric pronoun object is implied:

Q.	Fù mór gbāuŋ lāa·?	"Do you have the letter?"
A.	Ēēñ, m̄ mór.	"Yes, I have it."

An explicit generic object needs to be supplied to avoid this implication:

Mid ka ya ku <u>nid</u> .	"Do not kill." Ex 20:13
<u>Mìt</u> kà yà kō nīd.	

beware and 2p kill person

Many verbs are ambitransitive. With patientive ambitransitives, like *nāe'* "finish", *bòdɪg* "lose/get lost", transitive objects correspond to intransitive subjects. Most such verbs express state changes, and many are derived with *-g*. Agentive ambitransitives appear with and without objects, with no change in the subject role, and no anaphoric implication if the object is absent:

kel ka ba nu ku'om "let them drink water" Gn 29:7
kèl kà bà nū kû'əm
 let.IMP and 3p drink water

Kelli ka ti di ka nu "Let us eat and drink" 1 Cor 15:32
Kèlí· kà tì dí kà nū
 let.IMP·2pS and 1p eat and drink

Agentive ambitransitives may also appear in middle constructions, where the direct object is transferred to subject position and the agent is suppressed: unlike intransitive patientive ambitransitives, they cannot form progressive ipfs §12.1:

Dāam lā nú yā. "The beer has got drunk."
 beer the drink m/c

Gbàɥŋ lā sób nē. "The letter is written."
 letter the write FOC

Gbàɥŋ lā sóbìd sŋā. "The letter writes easily." W
 letter the write.IPF well

Gbàà sóbìd zīnā. "Letters are written today." W
 letter.PL write.IPF today

Dāam lā nūud nē "The beer is *for drinking*."
 beer the drink.IPF FOC (not "The beer is being drunk." W)

Some intransitive verbs may appear with parts of the subject's body as objects:

Dìgɪnīm ·fù nū'ug. "Put your hand down."
 lie.IMP 2s hand

Lìgɪnīm ·fù nīf né fù nū'ug. "Cover your eye with your hand."
 cover.IMP 2s eye with 2s hand

Ka o nie o mēŋ Jemes san'an "And he revealed himself to James"
 Kà ò níe ò mēŋ Jemes sâ'an 1 Cor 15:7
 and 3a appear 3a self James among

Some verbs only take direct objects of very limited types, often nouns from the same stem, e.g. *zàànsìm zàánsímà* "dream dreams" Acts 2:17 or

Fò túm bó-tùumà? "What work do you do?" S
 2s work.IPF what-work-CQ

Manner-pronoun objects often replace pronouns with abstract reference:

man tēn'es si'em la kù viigē. "What I plan will not be put off."
 mán tēn'es sī'em lā kú vīigé. Is 14:24
 1s.NZ think how the NG.IR put.off-NG

Dā níŋì ·àláa! "Don't do that!"
 NG.IMP do thus-NG

An indirect object expressing benefit or interest can follow almost any verb:

Ò dùgū·m. "He cooked (for) me."
 3a cook-1s

Lì màltsī·m. "I like it."
 3i be.sweet-1s

Àláafù béo·. "She's well."
 health exist-3a

Some verbs require indirect objects: *tìs* "give" is the prototypical case, along with causatives like *dìus* "feed."

M̀ tís nâ'ab lā pīinī. "I've given the chief a gift."
 1s give chief the gift

Ellipsis without implied anaphora does sometimes occur:

onē tisið piini "one who gives gifts" Prv 19:6
 ònì· tìsìð pīinī
 DEMa·NZ give.IPF gift

In many idioms a fixed generic direct object follows an indirect object, e.g. *kàd* X *sàríyà* "judge X", *mōr* X *nīn-báalìg* or *zò* X *nīn-báalìg* "have pity on X", *nìṅ* X *yàddā* "believe in X", *zò* X *dàbīəm* "fear X"; *nwè'* X *nû'ug* "plead with X" (*nû'ug* "hand" used as generic.)

m na ke ka fu dataas la nwe'ef nu'ug.
m̄ ná ké kà fù dàtāas lā n̄wê'ε·f nû'ug.

1s IR let and 2s enemy.PL the hit-2s hand

"I will make your enemies plead with you." Jer 15:11

Absence of the indirect object need not imply anaphora:

Da zot o dabiem.

"Don't be afraid of him." Dt 3:2

Dā zótō· dábíəmm·.

NG.IMP run.IPF-3a fear-NG

Da zot dabiem.

"Don't be afraid." Gn 15:1

Dā zót dábíəmm·.

NG.IMP run.IPF fear-NG

10.7.2 Predicatives

Some verbs take predicative complements, notably *àḡñ_{ya}* "be something" and its negative *kā'ḡ* (on the form of these verbs see §5.1; on focus-*nē'* see §12.1.)

Omission of predicative complements implies anaphora:

Mānī· áñ dú'atà kà fōn mén áḡñ.

"I'm a doctor and you are too."

1s + be doctor and 2s also be

Adjectives may appear as predicative NP heads:

Bà à nē píəlà.

"They're white." W

Mam ane pielug amaa m ya'a paae bugumin asεε ka m leb zin'a.

Mām á nē píəlùḡ àmáa m̄ yá' pāe búḡómī·n, àsέε kà m̄ léb zìn'a.

1s be FOC white but 1s if reach fire-at except and 1s turn red

"I am white, but when I reach the fire I turn red." [a crayfish] G1 p16

However, *àḡñ_{ya}* prefers either compounds with *nīn-* "person" or *bōn-* "thing", or deadjectival manner nouns as complements:

Lì à nē bōgvsígā.	"It's soft."
Lì à nē zāalím.	"It's empty."
Lì àn súnā.	"It's good."

Where they exist, quality verbs are usually preferred: **Lì màlìs** "It is sweet." However, **sòm_{ma}** "be good" appears in B2/3 only before subordinate clauses, "be good that ..."; this is perhaps connected with the fact that **sòm/sòṅā'** "well" is intrinsically focused §12.1, which would be inappropriate when the focus is on a following clause.

Predicative complements may follow objects.

Naming constructions have the name as complement, optionally introduced by **yē**. **Pòd** "dub" takes possessor + **yō'br'** "name" as object; **bùəl** in the sense "call by name" has either the person as object or possessor + **yō'br'** as the subject:

Ka fū na pūd o yō'br ye Yesu.	"And you will call him Jesus." Mt 1:21
Kà fù ná púd ò yō'br yē Yesu.	
and 2s IR dub 3a name that Jesus	

Ka o pūd biig la yō'br Yesu.	"And he called the child Jesus." Mt 1:25
Kà ò púd biig lā yō'br Yesu.	
and 3a dub child the name Jesus	

on ka ba buon ye Pita la	"who was called Peter" Mt 10:2
òn kà bà bùən yē Pita lā	
DEMa and 3p call.IPF that Peter the	

dau sō' ka o yō'br buon Joon.	"a man called John." Jn 1:6
dàù-só' kà ò yō'br bùən Joon.	
man-IDFa and 3a name call.IPF John	

Màal "make" can be used with object and predicative complement as in

Ka o maal o meṅ nintita'ar.	"He made himself out to be a great man."
Kà ò màal ò mēṅ nīn-títā'ar.	Acts 8:9 B1
and 3a make 3a self person-big	

Predicative NPs also appear as adjuncts:

ba daa naan vōlini ti vūt	"they would have swallowed us alive"
bà dāa nāan vōlī·ní·tī vūt	Ps 124:3
3p TNS then swallow·DP·1p alive.PL	

Predicative ideophones include *sāpī_n* 'straight', *nyāe_n* 'brightly, clearly', *nà'anā* 'easily':

maalim suoraug sappi mōogin la
màalim sūā-dâug sâpī mōogō·n lā

make.IMP road-male straight grass-at the

"Make straight the high road in the wilderness" Is 40:3

Wina'am a su'um nyain.

"God is light." 1 Jn 1:5 B2

Wínà'am án sū'm nyāe.

God be goodness brightly

ke ka ti lieb nyain.

"make us light." 1 Jn 1:7

ké kà tì lîøb nyāe.

let and 1p become brightly

Lì à nē ná'anā.

"It's easy."

3i be FOC easily

10.7.3 Adverbials

Adverbials are nouns or NPs typically used as VP adjuncts of manner, time, circumstance, reason or place. Subtypes include specialised pronouns, pronoun-like nouns which cannot take dependents (cf CGEL p429), postpositions with predeterminers, and relative clauses §11.4.2 with adverbial heads.

Adverbials are not strictly confined to adjunct roles, but also occur as NP predependents, complements of *àḡḡya* "be", objects, and even subjects:

Sùḡā bé.

"OK it is." W

Well exist.

Zíná à nē dá'a.

"Today is market."

today be FOC market

Yiḡ venl, ka poogin ka'a su'um.

Yiḡ vénl kà pōugō·n kâ' sū'mm·.

outside be.beautiful and inside NG.be goodness·NG

"Outside is beautiful but inside is not good." Acts 23:3 B2

Manner adverbials include pronouns like *wēlá* "how?" and manner nouns, which cannot take dependents. Some show apocope-blocking and/or prefixed *à-*; some derive from adjective stems with suffixed *m* or *ga*; *tò'otō'* "straight away" is a reduplicated root; *yà'as_(a)* "again" originated as a 1vb in *n*-catenation (cf Gal 1:9 B2: *ka m lem yeti ya'as* "and I say again") but is now simply an adverbial: *Ya'as ka m gos* "Again I looked" Rv 5:11 B1.

Expressive ideophones are manner adverbials:

Ò zòt nē tólìb tólìb.

"It [a hare] is running lollop-lollop." W

Reduplication of ordinary nouns or numbers creates distributives: *zìh'ig zìh'ig* "place by place", *dàbùsìr dàbùsìr* "day by day", *ànāas nāas* "four by four." Reduplication of manner nouns is intensifying: *àsídà sídà* or *àmēḡá mēḡá* "very truly."

Ì wóm Kūsāal bī'elá.

"I know Kusaal a little."

1s hear.IPF Kusaal slightly

Ì wóm bī'el bī'el.

"I understand it a very little."

1s hear.IPF little little

Non-referential count nouns are sometimes used as manner nouns:

Ì kéḡ nōbá.

"I went on foot." S; W preferred

1s go leg.PL

Ì kéḡ nē nōbá (nē "with")

À nyē nē nīf sóh'ɔ ·à wòm túbà.

"Saw-with-eye beats Heard-with-Ears"
(Seeing is believing.)

PZ see with eye surpass PZ hear ear.PL

Numbers have specific forms for "so many times" §9.5.1. Other quantifiers may also appear as manner adverbials:

Ò tòm bédugō/pāmm.

"She's worked a lot."

Bà gòsī-tí bábḡā.

"They've looked at us many times." W

cf *Bà gòsī-tì bábḡā.*

"They've looked at many of us." W

Mass quantifiers may float from within a VP complement or place adjunct to a later adjunct position:

Bà gòsī-tí wōsā.

"They've looked at us all/all of us." W
(for *Bà gòsī-tì wōsā.*)

3p look-1p all

Ka o paae zin'igin la. "And he reached the place." Lk 22:40
 Kà ò pāe zīn'igī·n lā.
 and 3a reach place-at the

but li saṅa sid paae ya. "Its time has surely arrived." Ps 102:13
 lì sāṅá sīd pàe yā.
 3i time truly arrive m/c

The core locative postposition has the form **nī´** after pronouns (**m̀ nī/mān nī** "in me"), loanwords, and words ending in short vowels in sf, but enclitic **n** elsewhere:

la'asvɔg dɔɔdin nɛ suoya ni "in synagogues and in streets" Mt 6:2
 là'asvòg dódɔdī·n nē sɔ́āyá nì
 gathering house.PL-at with road.PL at

It may precede or follow **lā´**: **m̀arī·n lā** or **m̀ar lā ní** "in the lake."

The locative particle follows all nouns used as heads of place NPs other than proper names of places and some postpositions.

Ka Paillet len yi nidibin la na ya'asi yeli ba ...
 Kà Paillet léṃ yī nīdībí·n lā nā yá'asì · yéì·bā ...
 and Pilate again exit person.PL-at the hither again + say-3p
 "Pilate came out to the people again and said to them ..." Jn 19:4

Ò bè dá'a·n. "He's at market."
 Ò bè kōlīgī·n "He's at the stream."
 Ò bè tūummī·n. "He's at work."

Yīr´ "house" has the exceptional locatives **yín_n** pl **yáa·n** "at home."

The locative particle also appears in some time expressions: **bēog_ɔ** "tomorrow", **bēogō·n** "morning", **yīgí·n** "at first" **sān-sí'ə·n lā** "at one time, once."

Kusaasi place names are intrinsically locative and do not take **nī´ ~ n**, but are often followed by an appositive place pronoun, particularly for rest at a place:

Ò bè Bók. "He's in Bawku."
 M ná kēṅ Bók. "I'm going to Bawku."
 Fò yūug Bók kpēlāa·? "Have you been long in Bawku (here)?"

Speakers treat foreign places names similarly, but B often uses **nī´** or paraphrases like **Jerusalem tēṅī·n** "in Jerusalem-land", especially for rest at a place.

All other postpositions are nouns used with predependents as VP adjuncts; several are themselves followed by locative *n*. They include:

Bābá "beside" (pl of **bābir'** "sphere of activity"): **m̄ nōbá bábà** "beside my feet."
Gbìn_n "at the bottom of" (**gbìn_n** "buttock"): **zūer lā gbín** "below the mountain."
Kōn'(əkō) "by ... self" (**àràkón'** "one"): **m̄ kōn'** "by myself."
Nyá'aṅ_a "behind, after" (**nyá'aṅ_a** "back"): **lì nyá'aṅ, nē'eṅā nyá'aṅ** "afterward."
Pūṅṅū·n "inside" (**pūṅṅ_a** "belly"): **yūm lā pūṅṅū·n** "[months] in the year",
dò-kàṅā lā pūṅṅū·n "inside that hut."
Sā'an' "in the presence/opinion of": **Wínà'am sâ'an** "in the sight of God", and

Fù ná dī'e tūm pṛá'-bàmmā lā sâ'an.

2s IR get medicine woman-DEMP the among

"You'll get the medicine from where those women are."

Sìsùṅṅū·n "between" (B3 *svugin*): **tīnám nē fūn sùṅṅū·n** "between us and you."
Tēṅír "under": **Gòsìm tēṅír!** "Look down!"; **téebùl lā tēṅír** "under the table."
Tùen_n "in front of": **Gòsìm tūen!** "Look forward!"; **dāká lā tūen** "before the box."
Zūḡ_o' "onto" (**zūḡ_o'** "head"):

Ò dìḡìl gbáṅṅ lā téebùl lā zúḡ. "She's put the book on the table."

3a lay book the table the on

Sāa zúḡ_o is used for "sky"; it is intrinsically locative:

Ka kùkōr yi saazug na "And a voice came from heaven"

Kà kùkōr yī sāa zúḡ nā Jn 12:28

and voice exit rain on hither

Zūḡ_o·n "on": **téebùl lā zúḡ_o·n** "on the table."

Zūḡ_o' is often used metaphorically as "on account of": **bō zúḡò?** "why?";

Faanmim fu nōṅilim la zug. "Save me because of your love." Ps 6:4

Fàaṅmí·m fù nòṅìlím lā zúḡ.

save.IMP·1s 2s love the on

Yēlá "matters, affairs" forms complements of verbs of cognition, perception and communication in the sense "about":

Bà yēlō· mān yēlá wōsā. "They told him all about me."

3p say·3a 1s about all

10.7.4 Prepositional phrases

Prepositions are **nē** "with" (accompanying or instrumental), **wōv** "like", **àsée** "except for", **hālí** "as far as." **Hālí nē** precedes time NPs: **hālí nē zíná** "until today." Coordination does not occur within prepositional phrases.

Personal pronoun complements take free forms or the (usually) right-bound forms: **wōv fūn nē/wóv fù nē** "like you." **Nē** "with" may precede right-bound forms, or use the form **ní** before enclitics: **ní·m ní·f nó· ní·lī ní·tī ní·yā ní·bā**.

Complements of **wōv** without the article **lā´** are followed by an empty **nē**, unless they are numbers (where the meaning is "about") or interrogative pronouns: **wōv mán nē** "like me", **wōv búḡ nē** "like a donkey", but **wōv tūsá àyí'** "about two thousand", **wōv bó·?** "like what?"

Prepositions occur before nominalised clauses:

aseε yaname na dōlli ya pitv la na "unless you bring your brother here"
àsée yānámì nà dōllí ·yà pītú lā nā Gn 43:5
 unless 2p.NZ IR follow 2p sib the hither

La'am nε on da zan'as la "Although he refused" Gn 39:10
Là'am nē ón dà zàn'as lā
 together with 3a.NZ TNS refuse the

Ò zòt wōv búḡì· zòt sī'əm lā. "He runs like a donkey runs."
 3a run.IPF like donkey·NZ run.IPF how the

Prepositions may function as clause subordinators §11.7.

Several verbs take prepositional phrases as complements, e.g. **dōl_{1a}´** "go with" in the sense "accord with"; **lāl_{1a}´** "be far from"; **nār_a´** "need" in the sense "deserve."

Li dōlne lin sōb Wina'am gbaugvun si'em la
Lì dōl nē lín sōb Wínà'am gbáugvū·n sī'əm lā
 3i follow with 3i.NZ write God book-at how the
 "This accords with what is written in God's book" 1 Cor 2:16

Amaa o pv lal nε tii. "But he is not far from us." Acts 17:27
Àmáa ò pū lāl né tī·.
 but 3a NG be.far with 1p·NG

Fv nar nε fvn na kpi. "You deserve to die." Jgs 2:26
Fù nár nē fún nà kpī.
 2s need with 2s.NZ IR die

Wēn_{na} 'be like' takes a prepositional phrase with **nē** or **wōb**, with the complement followed by **nē** in the same circumstances as after **wōb**:

M nwene danuud ne. "I am like a beer-drinker." Jer 23:9
M wén nē dā-nūud nē.
 1s be.like with beer-drinker like

Prepositional phrases are often VP adjuncts:

Lìgíním ·fù nīf né fù nū'ug. "Cover your eye with your hand."
 cover.IMP 2s eye with 2s hand

Bà kèŋ nē nōbá. "They've gone on foot." W
 3p go with leg.PL

Dìm nē Wīn, dā tū'as nē Wīnné. "Eat with God, don't talk with God."
 eat.IMP with God NG.IMP talk with God·NG

Kulim ne sumbuḡusum. "Go home in peace." Mk 5:34
Kùlìm nē sūñ-búḡusìm.
 go.home.IMP with peace

M gén' né fù. "I'm angry with you." S
 1s get.angry with 2s

mōri ya'am wōb wiigi ne "be wise as serpents" Mt 10:16
mòrī· yā'am wōb wīigí nē
 have·2pS sense like snake.PL like

O daa pwn ane ninkōvd hali pin'iluḡon sa.
Ò dāa pún à nē nīn-kōvd hālí pīn'ilúḡō·n sá.
 3a TNS previously be FOC person-killer even beginning-at since
 "He was a murderer from the beginning." Jn 8:44

W permits adjuncts introduced by **wōb** (not **nē**) to be preposed with **kà**:

Wōb búḡ né kà ò zót. "Like a donkey, he runs."
 like donkey like and 3a run.IPF

10.8 Final particles

The negative enclitic §5.3 follows all VP constituents except certain *kà*-clauses §11.1; m/c-pf *yā* §10.6 precedes any non-nominalised subordinate clauses, as do *nā'* "hither" and *sà* "hence, since", which follow all other complements and adjuncts:

M̀ mór kù'əm náa·?

1s have water hither-PQ

"Shall I bring water?" S

Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná·?

fire the exit.IPF where at hither-CQ

"Where is the light coming from?" S

O tumne beogun sa.

Ò tùm nē bēogō·n sá.

3a work.IPF FOC morning hence

"She's been working since morning."

Ru 2:7

K̀əm nā n gōs!

come.IPF hither + look

"Come and look!" S

Ka zuund da sig na ye ba di ni'im la.

Kà zùuund dá sīg nā yé bà dí nī'm lā.

and vulture.PL TNS descend hither that 3p eat meat the

"Vultures came down to eat the meat." Gn 15:11

Kēn "come" is always used with *nā'*; the identical m/c-imps of *kēn* "come" and *kēŋ'* "go" are distinguished by *nā'/sà*: *K̀əm nā!* "Come here!", *K̀əm sá!* "Go away!"

Nā' and *sà* may follow or precede *lā'* ending nominalised clauses containing them. They can also follow gerunds, and may again follow the article:

dunia kane ken la na

dūnyá-kànì· kēn lā nā

world-DEM·NZ come.IPF the hither

"the world which is coming" Lk 20:35

nwādīg-kànì· kēn nā lā

month-DEM·NZ come.IPF hither the

"next month" S

Ninsaal Biig la ləbug la na

Nīn-saal Bīig lā ləbùg lā nā

human child the returning the hither

"the return of the Son of Man" Mt 24:27

11 Clauses11.1 Structure and types

Typical clauses show a subject NP before a VP. Deviation from SVO order is preposing or dislocation. The subject position may be preceded by conjunctions (or prepositions as subordinators), clause linkers (*kà* "and", *yē* "that" or catenating *n*), clause adjuncts, and/or preposed elements, in that order. Subjects are ellipted after *n*, and sometimes after *kà*. Nominaliser *ñ* and *yà'* "if" follow the subject.

Most clause types require subjects. Impersonal constructions use *lì*:

Lì t̀̀l.

3i be.hot

"It [weather] is hot."

Lì à̀n s̀́yā.

3i be well

"Things are good."

Lì nà̀r kà f̀̀ò k̀̀l.

3i must and 2s go.home

"It's necessary for you to go home."

Lì may be omitted in *yà'*-clauses:

Yà'a ka'anε alaa

Yà' k̀̀ā'a-ní ·à̀lāa·

if NG.be·DP thus·NG

"If it had not been so" Jn 14:2

Without a subject, *zī'* (*kà*)/*zī'ısıg* "not know" means "unbeknownst."

See §11.2.2 for ellipsis and movement of subject pronouns in commands.

Subject pronouns are ellipted after *n*. Pronouns coreferential with preceding subjects are ellipted after *kà*, with M-spread after *kà*. Thus, in a reported dialogue *Kà ò yél ... kà ò yél ...*, each *ò* marks a switch of speaker. This implication of subject change can override gender agreement and semantic appropriateness:

P̀̀yā' lā dá' dāká kà kēη Bók.

woman the buy box and go Bawku

"The woman bought a box and went to Bawku." W

but *P̀̀yā' lā dá' dāká kà ò kēη Bók.*

woman the buy box and 3a go Bawku

"The woman bought a box and it went to Bawku." W

The ellipted pronoun may refer to the subject of a preposed absolute clause:

Ban wòm nē'εηa la ka sin. "After they heard this they fell silent."
 Bán wòm nē'εηā lá kà sīn. Acts 11:18
 3p.NZ hear DEMi the and be.silent

Other subject pronoun ellipsis is informal, and may be "corrected" if speakers' attention is drawn to it; however, it has become standardised in many greetings and proverbs. The meaning is unaffected. M-spread after ellipted pronouns remains:

Náe yàa·? "[Have you] finished?"
 finish m/c:PQ

The conjunctions àmáa "but", dìn/lìn zúgō "therefore", àlá zùg(ō) "thus", bō zúgō "because" may precede main clauses (bō zúgō may also follow absolute clauses in the same way as zūgṓ.) The prepositions hālí "until", wū "like", àséε "unless" may precede clauses as subordinators. Kūb/bē "or" may precede main or subordinate clauses. All of these precede any linker particles:

Ka sieba la' o. Amaa ka sieba yel ...
 Kà sīəbā lá'o·. Àmáa kà sīəbā yél ...
 and IDFP laugh:3a but and IDFP say
 "Some laughed at him, but others said ..." Acts 17:32

yeli ya zanbina bæε ye o na pa'al tūmnyalima
 yélì·yā zānbūnā bēε yé ò nà pā'al tūm·nyālímá
 + say:2p sign.PL or that 3a IR show work-wonderful.PL
 "telling you signs, or that he will show wonders" Dt 13:1

Apart from àmáa, conjunctions rarely co-occur with linkers.

Clause adjuncts follow any linker or conjunction but precede all other clause constituents, including preposed elements:

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bō ka m lem lōd nōr ya'asε?
 Àmáa ón sādígím kpi lá, bó kà m lem lōd nōr yá'asè·?
 but 3a.NZ since die the what and 1s again tie.IPF mouth again·CQ
 "But since he has died, why should I still be fasting?" 2 Sm 12:23

Almost any time, circumstance, or reason adverbial can be a clause adjunct. Some types typically appear as clause adjuncts, e.g. *yà'*-clauses §11.2.3, absolute clauses §11.4.1, *bēogō* "tomorrow", *dāa-sí'ərē* "perhaps", *àsīdā* "truly", *lín à sī'əm lā* "as it is", *lì nyá'aŋ* "afterward", but even these can also be VP adjuncts. Except for *yà'*-clauses and apocope-blocked forms, they may also be preposed with *kà* §12.4, and may thus occur before the subject with *kà* preceding, following, or both, or neither. However, manner and place adverbials can *only* precede the subject by *kà*-preposing: W corrected **Mōogó·n mām bé* to

Mōogó·n kà mām bé.

"I'm in the bush."

grass-at and 1s exist

When *dìn/lìn zúg* "therefore" is not *preceded* by *kà*, it is only *followed* by *kà* about half the time in B3: it is becoming a conjunction, like *lìn zúgō*.

Àséé "unless" appears as a clause adjunct in purpose clauses §11.5.

Main and content clauses can be statements, questions or commands; they may also lack VPs. They show m/c marking §10.6 unless coordinating *kà* precedes:

Ka o ba' nē o ma pū baŋ ye o kpelim yaa.

Kà ò bā' né ò mà pū bāŋ yé ò kpèlìm yāa·.

and 3a father with 3a mother NG realise that 3a remain m/c-NG

"His father and mother did not realise that he had remained." Lk 2:43

Catenated clauses appear non-initially in sequences resembling serial verb constructions. They follow *n*, replaced by *kà* if the subject or polarity is changed; subjects are ellipped after *n*. The main clause may be semantically subordinate.

Nominalised clauses with post-subject *ñ* are absolute or relative clauses; those with post-subject *yà'* are conditional protases.

Content and purpose clauses follow *yē* "that", much less often *kà* (most subordinate *kà*-clauses are catenated.)

Prepositions can introduce subordinate clauses, either alone, or before catenating linkers.

Catenated clauses (including those preceded by prepositions) *follow* main-clause negative enclitics if they are outside the scope of the negation:

M̄ dāa pū nyē dāy lá kà ò án ná'abā·. "I didn't see the man as a chief." K

1s TNS NG see man the and 3a be chief-NG

but Ka li pu yuuge ka o pu'a me kena. "Not much later, his wife came too."
 Kà lì p̄ yúugē·, kà ò p̄ā' mé kē nā. Acts 5:7
 and 3i NG delay·NG and 3a wife also come hither

Subordinate clauses can be nested; non-nominalised clauses are subordinate to the immediately preceding clause:

[ban mi' [ye biig la kpine la]] zug "because they knew the child was dead"
 bán mī' yē biig lā kpí nē lā zúg Lk 8:53
 3p.NZ know that child the die FOC the on

M pu b̄od [ye fu ti yel beog daar [ye f̄one ke [ka mam Abram lieb b̄ummora.]]]
 M̄ p̄ b̄od yé f̄ù tí yèl bēog dāar yē
 1s NG want that 2s next say tomorrow two.days.off that
 f̄ōnī · ké kà mām Abram l̄ēb b̄ōn-mórā·.
 2s + let and 1s Abram become thing-haver·NG
 "I do not want you in future saying that it was you who made me, Abram, rich."
 Gn 14:23

They may be coordinated (with *nē*, if nominalised), or contain coordination:

ka lin ane ye fu ku maali ti be'ede [...], ka ye fu yim ne sumbugusum la.
 kà līn á nē yé f̄ù kù mālī·tí bē'edī · [...], kà yé f̄ù yīm nē sūn-búgusim lā.
 and 3i be FOC that 2s NG.IR make·1p bad + and that 2s exit.IMP with peace the
 "Which is that you will not do us harm [...] and will depart in peace." Gn 26:29

On ka' sida s̄oba, ne on t̄um t̄umbē'ed sieba la zug, o na kpi.
 Ón k̄ā' sídà s̄obā·, nē ón t̄ùm t̄ùm-bē'ed-sīebā lā zúg, ò nà kpī.
 3a.NZ NG.be truth Øa·NG with 3a.NZ work work-bad-IDFp the on 3a IR die
 "He will die because he is not truthful, and because of the sins he has committed." Ez 18:24

M̄ b̄od yē d̄āy lā kēḡ d̄ā'a·n, kà p̄ā' lā d̄ūg d̄ūb.
 1s want that man the go market-at and woman the cook food
 "I want the man to go to market and the woman to cook food." W

11.2 Main clauses

Main clauses show m/c marking unless introduced by *kà*. They may be statements (the unmarked default), questions or commands; some types lack VPs. They are coordinated with *kà* "and", *kūu* "or", *bēε* "or." With *lēε* "but", or in narrative, *kà* corresponds to English zero.

11.2.1 Questions

Content questions (except *lìa* clauses §11.2.4) contain an interrogative pronoun and end with the content-question enclitic §5.3. Focus-*nē'* cannot appear.

There is no special word order, but if the subject contains the interrogative pronoun it must be *n*-focused §12.1, and non-subjects are very often preposed §12.4. Preposing is obligatory for *bō zúg*, "why?" and for *bō* when used for "why?"

Fù bōod bó·?

2s want what·CQ

"What do you want?"

Fù bōod línè·?

2s want DEMi·CQ

"Which do you want?"

Dāu lā nyé ànó'ónè·?

man the see who·CQ

"Whom has the man seen?"

Bōo maale?

Bōo · máalè·?

what + make·CQ

"What has happened?" Lk 24:19

Fù áan ·ànô'on bíigà·?

2s be who child·CQ

"Whose child are you?"

Anó'one nyé?

Ànó'onì · nyé·?

who + see·CQ

"Who has seen?" Is 29:15

Ànô'on kà dāu lā nyé·?

who and man the see·CQ

"Whom has the man seen?"

Bó kà fù kúmmà·?

what and 2s weep·IPF·CQ

"Why are you crying?"

Polar questions have the form of normal statements (with *nḗ* permitted as usual) followed directly by the polar-question enclitic (expecting agreement), by *kúv·?* "or?" (expecting agreement), or by *béε·?* "or?" (expecting disagreement):

Dāu lā nyé bíigàa·?

man the see child·PQ

"Has the man seen a child?"

M á nē dáùv·?

1s be FOC man·PQ

"Am I a man?"

Bà kùvd nē búvsèε·?

3p kill.IPF FOC goat.PL·PQ

"Are they killing goats?"

Fù pō wómmàa··?

2s NG hear.IPF·NG·PQ

"Don't you understand?"
(expects *ēεñ*, here "no")

Dāu lā nyé bíig kúv·?

man the see child or·PQ

"Has the man seen a child?"
(I expect so.)

Dāu lā nyé bíig béε·?

man the see child or·PQ

"Has the man seen a child?"
(I expect not.)

11.2.2 Commands

For indirect commands, see §11.5 §11.6. In direct commands, 2s pronouns are deleted, and 2p moves to immediately follow the verb as the liaison word *ya/n*:

Fù gós bíig lā.

2s look child the

"You (sg) have looked at the child."

Yà gós bíig lā.

2p look child the

"You (pl) have looked at the child."

but *Gòsìm bíig lā!*

look.IMP child the

"Look (sg) at the child!"

Gòsımī· bíig lā!

look.IMP·2pS child the

"Look (pl) at the child!"

Dā gōs biig láa·!

NG.IMP look child the·NG

"Don't (sg) look at the child!"

Dā gōsī· biig láa·!

NG.IMP look·2pS child the·NG

"Don't (pl) look at the child!"

Dā gōsē·!

NG.IMP look·NG

"Don't (sg) look."

Dā gōsī·yá·!

NG.IMP look·2pS·NG

"Don't (pl) look."

2s/p subjects remain unchanged after clause adjuncts and in content clauses:

Fv ya'a mōr pu'a, fvn da mōd ye fv bas oo.

Fv̀ yá' mōr puā', fvn dā mōd yé f̀v̀ básō·o·.

2s if have wife 2s NG.IMP struggle.IPF that 2s abandon·3a·NG

"If you have a wife, don't try to leave her." 1 Cor 7:27

ka siak ye fv tikim nu'ug

kà sɪák yé f̀v̀ tɪkɪm nũ'ug

and agree that 2s press.IMP hand

"and agreed that you sign" Dn 6:7

Some speakers use *ya/n* after all imperatives with pl subjects:

Ò yèl yé bà gòsımī· tēŋī·n.

3a say that 3p look.IMP·2pS down

"He said to them: Look down!"

Kèmī· nā n gōsī·!

come.IMP·2pS hither + look·2pS

"Come (pl) and look!"

(Kèmī· nā n gōs! W)

Direct commands consisting of a verb alone or with a following postposed subject pronoun occasionally end in a *lf* like that preceding a negative enclitic:

Gòsımī·yá!

"Look (pl)!"

11.2.3 Conditionals

Conditional clauses have a *yà'*-clause protasis as a clause adjunct. The main clause can be a statement, command or question. Protases cannot be coordinated, but there may be several in a main clause; they occasionally appear clause-finally as VP adjuncts, due to weight.

Fù yá' gōs kpēlá, bó kà fù ñyētá? "If you look here, what do you see?" S
 2s if look here what and 2s see.IPF-CQ

Ka ligidi la ya'a pò'og, m ya'a ti lèb na, m na yóof.
 Kà līgīdī lā yá' pò'og, m yá' tì lèb nā, m ná yóof.
 and money the if get.small 1s if next return hither 1s IR pay-2s
 "If the money runs short, after I return I will repay you." Lk 10:35

Dinzug li naan a su'um ba ya'a pu du'an dau kaṅaa.
 Dìn-zúg lì nāan án sù'm bà yá' pū dū'a·n dáy-kàṅáa·.
 so 3i then be goodness 3p if NG bear·DP man-DEM·NG
 "So it would have been better for him not to have been born." Mk 14:21 B2

Yà'-clauses express tense independently. They can have irrealis mood, but an indicative event-perfective need not have past reference:

Fù ya'a na dōllimi keṅ, m na keṅ. "If you will go with me, I will go." Jgs 4:8
 Fù yá' nà dōllí·mī · kēṅ, m ná kēṅ.
 2s if IR follow-1s + go 1s IR go

M ya'a pò keṅε, Sūṅid la ku kēen ya ni naa.
 M yá' pō kēṅé·, sūṅīd lā kú kēén ·yà nī náa·.
 1s if NG go-NG helper the NG.IR come 2p at hither-NG
 "If I do not go, the Helper will not come here to you." Jn 16:7

The main clause must have an unellipted subject. Direct commands keep a subject pronoun in place (some speakers requiring a free form):

Fù ya'a mōr pu'a, fōn da mōod ye fù bas oo.
 Fù yá' mōr puā', fōn dā mōod yé fù básō·o·.
 2s if have wife 2s NG.IMP struggle.IPF that 2s abandon-3a-NG
 "If you have a wife, don't try to leave her." 1 Cor 7:27

The discontinuous-past enclitic **n** §10.2 can attach to any verb form except imperatives; it is usually repeated in following catenated clauses. Here it expresses modal remoteness (CGEL pp148ff), describing a hypothetical or unlikely state of affairs; with tense-slot adjunct **nāan** the sense is contrary-to-fact. This **nāan** "in that case" is distinct from **nyāan** "next, then" (though *naan* often appears for **nyāan** in older texts) and from the 2vb **nāan** "starting at ... do" §11.3.1.

Open conditional clauses contain neither **n** nor **nāan**. If the main clause has present or future reference, the **yà'**-clause may correspond to either "if" or "when" in English, but past-reference "when" is expressed with absolute clauses §11.4.1.

Fù yá' sjàk, tì ná dīgí·f. "If you agree, we'll put you to bed."
2s if agree 1p IR lay·2s (i.e. admit you to hospital.)

Ka Kristo ya'a da pu vu'ug kumine, alaa ti labasug la moolug la ane zaalim.
Kà Kristo yá' dà pū vū'ug kūmī·né·, àláa ·tì làbà-sùŋ lā
and Christ if TNS NG revive death·at·NG thus 1p news-good the
moolug lā á nē zāalim.
proclamation the be FOC emptiness
"If Christ did not rise from death, our preaching is empty." 1 Cor 15:14

Nid ya'a tum tuma, o di'ed yood. "If a person works, he gets pay."
Nīd yá' tòm tūmā, ò di'əd yōod. Rom 4:4
person if work.IPF work 3a receive.IPF pay

Beg ya'a nie fu na wum o pian'ad.
Bēog yá' nìe, fù ná wúm ò piàn'ad.
tomorrow if appear 2s IR hear 3a speech
"When tomorrow comes, you will hear his words." Acts 25:22

Hypothetical conditionals use **n** in the **yà'**-clause and irrealis without **nāan** in the main clause. B1 has **n** in the main clause too; B3 may omit it in both.

Wief ya'a sign li ni, li zuluŋ na paaen o salabir.
Wīef yá' sīgí·n lī nī, lī zùlùŋ ná páa·n ò sàlbìr.
horse if descend·DP 3i at 3i depth IR reach·DP 3a bridle
"If a horse went down in it, its depth would reach its bridle." Rv 14:20 B1
B3: *Ka wief ya'a sigi li ni, li zulvŋ na paae o salibir.*

Nobir ya'a yelin ye, on pu a nu'ug la zug, o ka' niṅgbīṅ nii, lin ku nyanṅin keen ka o ka' niṅgbīṅ nii.

Nóbìr yá' yèlī·n yē, ón pō áń nū'ug lā zúg, ò kā' nín-gbīṅ ní·,

leg if say·DP that 3a.NZ NG be hand the on 3a NG.exist body at·NG

līn kú n̄yāṅī·n · kēé·n kà ò kā' nín-gbīṅ ní·.

DEMi NG.IR accomplish·DP + let·DP and 3a NG.exist body at·NG

"If the leg said, because it is not a hand, it is not in the body, that would not cause it not to be in the body." 1 Cor 12:15 B1

Contrary-to-fact conditionals have **n** in both clauses, **nāan** in the main clause:

Man ya'a pō kēen na tu'asini ba, ba naan ku mōrin taale.

Mān yá' pō kēé·n nā · tú'asī·ní·bā, bà nāan kú mōrī·n tâallē·.

1s if NG come·DP hither + talk·DP·3p 3p then NG.IR have·DP fault·NG

"Had I not come to speak to them, they would not have been guilty." Jn 15:22

M ya'a mōrin sū'ugū m nu'ugin m naan kōnif nannanna.

M̄ yá' mōrī·n sū'ugū ·m̄ nū'ugī·n, m̄ nāan kōv·ní·f nānná·nā.

1s if have·DP knife 1s hand·at 1s then kill·DP·2s now

"If I'd had a sword in my hand, I'd have killed you right now." Nm 22:29

Past contrary-to-fact main clauses may instead use past-tense irrealis:

Bōzugō Josua ya'a da tisini ba vū'ūsōm zin'ig, Wina'am da kō lem pian' dabis-si'a yēla ya'asē.

Bō zúgō Josua yá' dà tìsī·ní·bā vū'ūsím zīn'ig, Wínà'am dá kò lēm pīān'

because Joshua if TNS give·DP·3p resting place God TNS NG.IR again speak

dábìs-sī'a yélà yà'asē·.

day-IDF about again·NG

"For if Joshua had given them a resting place, God would not subsequently have spoken of another day." Heb 4:8

Yà' nāan means "if only":

M zugdaan la ya'a naan siaki keṅ nyēen nōdi'es la be Samaria la!

M̄ zūg-dāan lā yá' nāan s̄jākì · kēṅ · n̄yēé·n nó-dí'əs lá· bè Samaria lā!

1s master the if then agree + go + see·DP linguist the·NZ exist Samaria the

"If only my lord would agree to go to see the prophet in Samaria!" 2 Kgs 5:3

Yà' pòn means "even if":

Li ya'a pòn du'a, saam na dii li.

Lì yá' pòn dụà', sáam ná dī·lí.

3i if already bear stranger.PL IR eat:3i

"Even if it bears a crop, strangers will eat it." Hos 8.7

Modal **n** and **nāan** also occur outside conditional clauses, though B3 often has **nà** for B1/2 **nāan**, and in older texts **nāan** often represents **nyāan** "next, then" in clauses after coordinating **kà**:

Fu na ki'is man noor atan' ka noraug naan [nyaan B3] kaas noor ayi.

Fù ná kī'is mǎn nór atán' kà nō-dâug nyāan kās nór àyí'.

2s IR deny 1s time three and cock next cry time two

"You will thrice deny me before the cock crows twice." Mk 14:30 B2

Bòodī·n appears in main clauses as "might wish":

Man bōodin ne yaname naan aan ma'asiga bē yaname naan aan tūliga.

Mǎn bóodī·n yē yānámì nāan āa·n mā'asígā bē yanámì nāan āa·n tūlígā.

1s want-DP that 2p.NZ then be-DP coldly or 2p.NZ then be-DP hotly

"I might wish you had been cold or you had been hot." Rv 3:15

Nāan may be effectively equivalent to **yà'** "if/when":

Li an sūm ye dau yinne naan kpi nidib la yela gaad ...

Lì àn sūm yē dāu yīnní nāan kpí nīdīb lā yélà · gǎad ...

3i be good that man one then die person.PL the about + pass

"It is better if one man should die for the people than ..." Jn 11:50

Noṅir lem kae' gaad nidi naan kpi o zuanam zugo.

Nòṅìr lém kā'e · gǎad nīdī· nāan kpí ò zùà-nàm zúgō·.

love again NG.exist + pass person·NZ then die 3a friend-PL on-NG

"There is no love greater than if a person dies for his friends." Jn 15:13 B2

Nāan with **n** has the same contrary-to-fact sense as in conditional clauses:

Li su'm ka fu daa naan zaṅin m ligidi n su'an banki ni.

Lì sù'm kà fù dāa nāan zǎjí·n ·m̀ līgīdī n sū'a·n bǎṅkì ní.

3i be.good and 2s TNS then take-DP 1s money + hide-DP bank at

"You should have put my money in the bank." Mt 25:27 B1

11.2.4 Verbless clauses

Identificational clauses have the form NP + catenating **n** + deictic particle or **wà nā** "this here." The NP may be an interrogative pronoun.

Kùlìṅì · lā.

door + that

"That is a door."

Kùlìṅì · wá nā.

door + this hither

"This here is a door."

Bōo · lá·?

what + that·CQ

"What's that?"

Ñwāamīs ñwá!

monkey.PL + this

"Monkeys!" (a passenger in my car, suddenly catching sight of some)

Identificational clauses may append clauses by catenation:

Ano'ón nwaa yisid nidib tɔ̀umbɛ'edi basida?

Ànô'ón · ñwáa · yīsīd nīdīb tɔ̀um-bē'edī · básīdà·?

who + this + expel.IPF person.PL deed-bad.PL + reject.IPF·CQ

"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" Lk 7:49

Zi', ka dau la siigi la ka o gban'e mori kul.

Zì', kà dāy lā sígì · lá kà ò gbān'a · mōrī · kūl.

NG.know and man the spirit + that and 3a grab + have + go.home

"Unbeknownst, it was the man's spirit that he seized and took home." G2 p26

They can be embedded in verbal clauses:

Ya ningid bōo nwa?

Yà níṅìd bōo · ñwá·?

2p do.IPF what + this·CQ

"What is this you are doing?" Neh 2:19

Fù maal bōo la tis mam?

Fù māl bōo · lā · tís mām·?

2s make what + that + give 1s·CQ

"What is this that you have done to me?"

Nm 23:11

Lìa clauses have the form X + lìa, meaning "where is X?":

Fù mà lā lía·?

2s mother the be.where-CQ

"Where is your mother?" W (overheard)

Ka awai la dia [*sic*]?

Kà àwāę lā lía·?

and nine the be.where-CQ

"But where are the nine?" Lk 17:17 B1

Vocative clauses stand alone or beside a main clause. They take the form of NPs followed by the vocative enclitic §5.3:

Ḿ dìəmmā·, bó kà fù kúəsìdà·?

1s parent.in.law·VOC what and 2s sell.IPF·CQ

"Madam, what are you selling?"

Ləm na, fən kanε an Sulam teŋ nida!

Ləm nā, fōn-kánì· àn Sulam téŋ nìdā·!

return.IMP hither 2s-DEM·NZ be Shulam land person·VOC

"Return, O Shulammite!" Sg 6:13

Vocatives do not take the article lā´, but often end in nwà "this":

Zōn nwá·!

"Fools!"

Some particles constitute complete utterances. Some are onomatopoeic, like báp "wallop!"; others common to many local languages, like tò "OK", ñfá "well done!"

"Yes" is ēēñ; "No" is áyì. The reply agrees or disagrees with the question: thus the reply to Lì pū nāée··? "Isn't it finished?" may be

ēēñ.

"No."

Áyì.

"Yes."

11.3 Catenated clauses

A clause may be followed by one or more VPs introduced by catenating **n** §5.4. Toende Kusaal has zero throughout corresponding to this **n**, but most other Western Oti-Volta languages show **n**, at least in slow speech. In languages with the zero realisation, these structures have usually been regarded as serial verb constructions, and many uses of catenation are closely parallel. Substitution of **kà** for **n** blocks the interpretation of verbs in specialised catenation senses, as with

M̄ dāa kùæs bùṅṅù · tís dū'atà. "I sold a donkey to the doctor."
1s TNS sell donkey + give doctor

which with **kà** can only mean "I sold a donkey and gave it to the doctor." However, **n**-catenation is much more flexible than serial verb constructions: complements, adjuncts, and subordinate **kà**-clauses may be incorporated within VP chains, and even verbless clauses may be followed by catenated VPs:

Ka dau so' due n zi'e la'asug la nidib sisoogin, n a Farisee nid ka o yu'ur buon
Gamaliel, n a one pa'an Wina'am wada la yela, ka lem a yu'ur daan nidib sa'an.
Kà dàṅ-sò' dūe n zí'e lá'asòg lā nīdīb sísùṅṅō·n, n án Farisee níd
and man-IDFa rise + stand gathering the person.PL among + be Pharisee person
kà ò yū'ur būen Gamaliel, n án ónì· pà'an Wínà'am wádà lā yélà,
and 3a name call.IPF Gamaliel + be DEMa·NZ teach.IPF God law the about
kà lém àn yū'ur dāan nīdīb sâ'an.
and again be name owner person.PL among
"A man stood up in the assembly, a Pharisee called Gamaliel, a teacher of
God's law and reputable among the people." Acts 5:34 B2

Anɔ'on nwaa yisid nidib tɔumbe'edi basida?
Ànò'on · n̄wáa · yīsīd nīdīb t̄ɔum-bē'edī · básɪdà·?
who + this + expel.IPF person.PL deed-bad.PL + reject.IPF·CQ
"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" Lk 7:49

Catenating **n** thus attaches a VP to the preceding *clause*. The catenated VP is itself a clause with an ellipted subject, identical to that of the preceding clause; this analysis is supported by the existence of clearly parallel catenation constructions using **kà** in place of **n**. Compare English "catenative" constructions, CGEL pp1176ff. Catenating **n** probably originated as a non-finite marker; Mooré **n**+verb constructions are also used in citation, as standalone answers, and as verb complements.

Mood and aspect are usually determined by the first VP, which carries the tense and polarity particles for all, but usually each VP repeats discontinuous-past *n*, and while initial irrealis marking applies to the whole chain, a VP following an indicative may be marked as irrealis. Catenation behaves as a single unit for focus. It can be the first component which is semantically subordinate; many verbs have "auxiliary" roles in catenation, preceding or following according to their own semantics. Furthermore, the order of pfs must mirror event order.

11.3.1 With n

N-catenation may involve verbs with no specialised catenation roles. In such cases, main VP *n* ipf VP expresses accompanying events:

Ka Ninsaal Biig la kena dit ka nuud

Kà Nīn-sāal Bīig lā kēn nā · dít kà nūud

and human child the come.IPF hither + eat.IPF and drink.IPF

"And the Son of Man comes eating and drinking" Mt 11:19

With pf VP *n* main VP, the first VP expresses a prior event:

Ka dapa ayi' ye fupiela zi'e ba san'an.

Kà dāpá · àyí' yé fū-píələ · zì'e bà sā'an.

and man.PL two don shirt-white.PL + stand 3p among

"Two men dressed in white were standing with them." Acts 1:10

Main VP *n* pf irrealis/imp VP (often with subverb *tì*) may express purpose:

Amaa m pṽ mōr antu'a zugṽ o yela na sōbi tis na'atita'ar laa.

Àmáa m pṽ mōr ántù'a zúgṽ · ò yēlá · nà sōbī · tís ná'-tītā'ar láa.

but 1s NG have case on 3a about + IR write + give king-great the·NG

"But I have no case about him to write to the Emperor." Acts 25:26

Kēm · tí ñyē dú'atà.

"Go and see the doctor."

go.IMP + next see doctor

Man ya'a pṽ kēen na tu'asini ba ...

Mān yá' pṽ kēē·n nā · tú'asī·ní·bā ...

1s if NG come-DP hither + talk-DP·3p

"If I had not come to talk to them" Jn 15:22

Catenated VPs can be coordinated with **kà**:

ka keŋ ... n ian'asid ka pian'ad n du'osid Wina'am yu'ur su'uŋa.
kà kēŋ ... n iān'asíd kà piān'ad n dū'osíd Wínà'am yú'ur sù'ŋā.

and go + leap.IPF and praise.IPF + elevate.IPF God name well

"and went ... leaping and praising the name of God greatly." Acts 3:8 B2

Sogia so' kae' n tum ka yood o meŋa.

Sógjà-sō' kā'e n tùm kà yōod ò mēŋá.

soldier-IDFa NG.exist + work.IPF and pay.IPF 3a self-NG

"No soldier works and pays for himself." 1 Cor 9:7 B1

Certain verbs have specialised meanings in **n**-catenation.

The following precede the semantically main VP:

Àeñya "be something" precedes a **n**-catenation in clefting §12.3.

Bè "exist" + **ànínā** "there" + ipf "be in the process of":

Ò bè ànínā n n̄wê'ed bīig lā.

"He's currently beating the child."

3a exist there + beat.IPF child the

Dèŋ "go/do first" (**m̄ déŋī-f** "I've got there before you") is used for "previously."

Dōl_a' "go with":

Bà dōllō · kēŋ Bók.

"They've gone to Bawku with her."

3p follow-3a + go Bawku

Mī' "know": **nām mī' n** + pf "always have X-ed", **nām zī' n** + pf "never have X-ed":

Makir banε buudi paadi ya la nan mi' paae sieba men.

Mākír-bànì · būudī pāadī-yā lā nám mī' · pāe sīebā mén.

Testing-DEMP·NZ sort reach.IPF·2p the still know + reach IDFP also.

"The kind of trials coming to you have ever come to others too." 1 Cor 10:13

M̄ nám zī' · n̄yē gbīgīmnē.

"I've never seen a lion." S

1s still NG.know + see lion·NG

Mōr_a' "have" means "bring" before motion verbs:

Dābá àyópòḡ kà fù mōró · kē nā.

"Bring her here in a week." W

day.PL seven and 2s have·3a + come hither

Nāan' "starting from ... do" takes a place NP followed by a **n**-catenation:

Ka pu'a la da naanε o buη la zugυ sig la
Kà puā' lá· dà nāaní ·ò bùη lā zúgù · sīg lā
 and woman the·NZ TNS start.at 3a donkey the on + descend the
 "When the woman had got off her donkey" Jo 15:18

Nìη wēlá "do how?" with **n**-catenation is "how can?":

Ninsaal biig na niη wala pu mōr taal Wina'am tuonne?
Nīn-sāal būig nà nīη wēlá · pū mōr tāal Wínà'am tūønnè·?
 human child IR do how + NG have fault God before·NG-CQ
 "How can the child of a human being not have sin before God?" Jb 25:4

There is an impersonal variant with **kà**-catenation (see next section.)

Ñyāη' "overcome" as an auxiliary means "carry out successfully, prevail in":

Ṁ pū ñyāηī · ñwé' bùη lāa·. "I wasn't able to hit the donkey."
 1s NG prevail + hit donkey the·NG

As **ñyāη'** expresses events, not states, the irrealis is used to express present ability or inability; main and auxiliary verbs agree in aspect.

Ṁ kú ñyāηī · ñwé' bùη lāa·. "I can't hit the donkey."
 1s NG.IR prevail + hit donkey the·NG

wada line nyaηidi ket ka nidib vœ
wādá lìnì· ñyāηídì · kèt kà nīdīb vōē
 law DEMi·NZ prevail.IPF + let.IPF and person.PL live
 "a law which can make people live" Gal 3:21

Sūā' "hide" is used for "secretly":

Ka Na'ab Herod su'a buol baηidib la
Kà Nà'ab Herod sūā' · bùel bāηīdīb lā
 and king Herod hide + call understander.PL the
 "Herod secretly called for the wise men" Mt 2:7

Tūn'e "be able" occurs as a main verb (e.g. *ba paηi na tun'e si'em* "as much as their strength permitted" 2 Cor 8:3), but is more often used as an auxiliary in either indicative or irrealis mood to express present ability or inability:

ka li ku tun'e su'a. "which cannot be hidden" Mt 5:14
 kà lî kú tūn'ə · sū'a.
 and 3i NG.IR be.able + hide-NG

Ya na tun'e zin' teŋin la nɛ ti. "You can dwell in the land with us."
 Yà ná tūn'ə · zín'i tēŋī·n lā né tì. Gn 34:10
 2p IR be.able + sit land-at the with 1p

Fu tun'e nyet si'ela? "Can you see anything?" Mk 8:23
 Fù tūn'ə · nyēt sí'elàa?
 2s be.able + see.IPF IDFi·PQ

O pu tun'e pian'ada. "He could not speak." Lk 1:22
 Ò pū tūn'ə · piān'adá.
 3a NG be.able + speak.IPF·NG

bozugo ba ku tun'e nyaje ba meŋa.
 bō zúgō bà kù tūn'ə · nyāŋí · bà mēŋá.
 because 3p NG.IR be.able + control 3p self·NG
 "because they cannot control themselves." 1 Cor 7:5 B2

Zàŋ and nōk' "pick up, take" with object "using" (of a literal object as instrument)

M nók sú'ugò · kǎ́ nīm lā. "I've cut the meat with a knife."
 1s take knife + cut meat the

"Beginning" verbs naturally precede:

Tì déŋì · tísò· lór. "We've previously given him a car."
 1p precede + give·3a car

Ka Pita pin'ili pa'ali ba "Peter began to tell them" Acts 11:4
 Kà Pita pīn'ilī · pá'alì·bā
 and Peter begin + teach·3p

Ka dau sò' duoe zi'en la'asug la svugin
 Kà dàu-sò' dūe · zī'en là'asùg lā súvgō·n
 and man-IDFa rise + stand.up gathering the among
 "And a man got up and stood in the assembly" Acts 5:34

Auxiliary verbs which follow the main VP include:

Gàad "pass, surpass" is used in comparisons:

Fù sid nọṅ mam gat bamaa? "Do you really love me more than these?"
 Fù síd nọṅ mām · gát bámmáa·? Jn 21:15
 2s truly love 1s + pass.IPF DEMp·PQ

À Wīn gím · gát à Bōgūr. "Awini is shorter than Abugri." S
 PZ Awini be.short + pass.IPF PZ Abugri

Gàls "get to be too much" (**Sāa gáls yā** "There's been too much rain"):

Dā kárìṃ gbánà · gálsìdā. "Don't read books too much."
 NG.IMP read.IPF book.PL + exceed.IPF·NG

Tìs "give" is used for "to, for"; the meaning need not imply "giving":

Ì dāa kùes bùṅù · tís dú'atà. "I sold a donkey to the doctor."
 1s TNS sell donkey + give doctor

Wēn_{na}' "be like" is often found with **n** realised as zero; the catenation can be treated like a prepositional phrase, and even proposed with **kà** or dislocated.

Da lo ya nindaase, wenne foosug dim la niṅid si'em la.
 Dā ló yà nīn-dáasē, wēn nē fōosúg díṃ lá· niṅìd sī'em lā.
 NG.IMP tie 2p face.PL·NG be.like with puffing Øp the·NZ do.IPF how the
 "Don't screw up your faces like the hypocrites do." Mt 6:16 B1

"Ending" verbs naturally follow the main VP; thus with **nāe'** "finish" or in e.g.

Ò dù · tīg. "She's eaten to satiety."
 3a eat + get.sated

Verbs of motion occur in **n**-catenation with meanings like adverbs or prepositions:

M na kad kikirisi yis nidibin "I will drive demons out of people"
 M ná kād kíkírīsī · yīs nīdībī·n Lk 13:32
 1s IR drive fairy.PL + expel person.PL·at

N tì pāe + NP is "until, up to": **hālí n tì pāa zīnā** "right up until today."

11.3.2 With kà

If there is a change in polarity, **kà** replaces **n**:

Ka dau daa zin'i Listra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.

Kà dāu dāa zín'i Listra ní kà pū tūn'ə · kēnná·.

and man TNS sit Lystra at and NG be.able + go.IPF·NG

"There was a man in Lystra who could not walk." Acts 14:8 B2

Exceptions occur, e.g. *Ya sieba be kpela kv kpil* "There are some of you here who will not die" Lk 9:27.

If there is a change in subject, **kà** replaces **n**; exceptions involve **bà** as non-specific "they" §9.2.

Kē "let, leave off" takes a **kà**-catenation as "let, cause that." The subjects must differ (in *kel ka fv meŋ an zanbinne tisi ba* "Let you yourself be a sign to them" Ti 2:7, *fv* is a predependent.) Mood matches the main clause, but imperative may replace irrealis; discontinuous-past **n** is often dropped in B2/3.

Ka li ane wada la ket ka tūmbe'ed nyet paŋ.

Kà lī à né wādá lā · kēt kà tūm-bē'ed nyēt páŋ.

and 3i be FOC law the + let.IPF and deed-bad see.IPF power

"It is the law which lets sin find power." 1 Cor 15:56

Li da ke ka ba pu nyaŋi kuv o.

"This prevented him from being killed."

Lī dà kē kà bà pū nyāŋī · kúo·.

2 Kgs 11:2

3i TNS let and 3p NG prevail + kill·3a·NG

ye li ke ka ba da nye Kristo kum dapuudir namisog laa.

yé lī kē kà bà dā nyē Kristo kúm dá-pūudīr námisòg láa·.

that 3i let and 3p NG.IMP see Christ death cross suffering the·NG

"so they will not experience the suffering of Christ's crucifixion." Gal 6:12

dine na ke ka ba da kpi'ilim.

"which will stop them dying out." Gn 6:20

Dīnī · ná kē kà bà dā kpī'ílímm·.

3i + IR let and 3p NG.IMP finish·NG

Imperative **kèl_a** + **kà**-clause expresses commands to third or first persons:

Kèl kà ò gōs tēŋī·n.

"Let him look down."

let.IPF and 3a look down

Dā ké kà dàbīəm bée!
 NG.IMP let and fear exist-NG "Don't be afraid."

Kèlí· kà tì pò'us Wínà'am.
 let.IMP-2pS and 1p greet God "Let us praise God." (or Kèl kà ...)

Kèl kà is often ellipted informally, leaving the absence of m/c marking as the only sign that the clause is a command:

M̄ gōs nīf lā.
 1s look eye the "Let me look at the eye." (overheard)
 No tone overlay

The imperative-only 1vb *m̄t* (B3 *mid*) means "do not let" with a *kà*-catenation. 2pS *ya/n* is omitted, and B3 lacks the final negative enclitic:

Mid ka ya zu.
 M̄t kà yà zū.
 beware and 2p steal "Do not steal." Ex 20:15

X *n̄iŋ wēlá n ..?* "how can X ..?" has an impersonal variant using a dummy subject in the main clause and the effective subject in *kà*-catenation; much more rarely, *kà* is seen in the personal construction instead of *n*.

Li n̄iŋ wala ka o an David yaan̄a?
 Lì n̄iŋ wēlá kà ò án̄ David yāan̄à?
 3i do how and 3a be David descendant-CQ
 "How can he be David's descendant?" Mt 22:45

M na n̄iŋ wala ka nyē faangirē?
 M̄ ná n̄iŋ wēlá kà nyē fāangírè?
 1s IR do how and find salvation-CQ "How can I find salvation?" Acts 16:30

Zī' "not know" is followed by a *kà*-clause in the sense "unknowingly":

Ka sō' ya'a zī' ka tūm ...
 Kà sō' yá' zī' kà tūm ...
 and IDFa if NG.know and work "If anyone unwittingly does ... "Lv 5:17

The construction also occurs without a subject: *zī' kà ...* "unbeknownst."

Verbs of perception like *nyē* "see" and *wòm* "hear/smell/feel" take *kà*-catenated clauses in the sense "perceive that":

Ka Noa yis dine ligil anrɔŋ la ka nyɛ ka tɛŋ la wɔsa kɔdig.

Kà Noa yīs dínì· ligìl ànròŋ lá kà nyé kà tɛŋ lā wōsā kúdìg.

and Noah extract DEMi·NZ cover boat the and see and land the all dry.up

"Noah uncovered the ark and saw that the ground was dry." Gn 8:13

(not a content clause: no m/c-pf *yā*)

An adnominal *kà*-clause follows, usually directly, a NP anchor other than a main clause verb subject, and contains a pronoun referring to it, ellipped in the case of an object. The NP of a identificational clause may serve as an anchor.

The sense resembles a non-restrictive relative clause:

Anina ka o nyɛ dau ka o yɔ'ɔr buon Aneas.

Àníná kà ò nyē dāu kà ò yō'ɔr būɛn Aneas.

there and 3a see man and 3a name call.IPF Aeneas

"There he found a man whose name was Aeneas." Acts 9:33

Li anɛ ya taaba banɛ pɔ'ɔsid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà tāabā bānì· pò'ɔsìd Wínà'am kà lì nár kà yà kád sàríyà.

3i be FOC 2p fellow DEMp·NZ greet.IPF God and 3i must and 2p drive law

"It is your fellow-worshippers of God whom you must judge." 1 Cor 5:12

Yel bɔɔ nwa ka Wina'am ke ka li paae ti?

Yēl-bóó · ñwá kà Wínà'am ké kà lì páa-tí·?

matter-what + this and God let and 3i arrive·1p·CQ

"What is this that God has made to come to us?" Gn 42:28

If the referring pronoun is the *kà*-clause subject, the meaning is *predicative*:

ka la'am maan gigis ka ba wum ka pia'ad.

kà lâ'am màn gígìs kà bà wúm kà piān'ad.

and together make.IPF dumb.PL and 3p hear.IPF and speak.IPF

"and even makes the dumb hear and speak." Mk 7:37 B1

M̄ dāa p̄ nyē dāu lá kà ò án ná'abā· "I didn't see the man as a chief." K

1s TNS NG see man the and 3a be chief-NG

11.4 Nominalised clauses

Clauses can be nominalised with *̀̀* §5.4 after the subject, creating absolute or relative clauses. (See §9.2 for nominalisations with the personaliser *̀̀*.)

Tense marking is independent, relative to narrative timelines. Focus particles may not be used, but relative clause heads are often preposed. The only possible postdependent is *̀̀́*, omitted after another *̀̀́*; VP-final particles may follow it. Negative enclitics are dropped if the clause takes *̀̀́* or is not itself clause-final:

Ǹ̀n-b̀̀ǹ̀́· p̀̀́ dít ná kp̄́. "People who don't eat will die." W
 person-DEMP·NZ NG eat.IPF IR die

vs *M̀̀́ nyé ǹ̀n-b̀̀ǹ̀́· p̀̀́ dít̄́.* "I've seen people who don't eat." W
 1s see person-DEMP·NZ NG eat.IPF·NG

11.4.1 Absolute

Clauses with *̀̀* with no head-marking pronouns are absolute clauses; they usually take *̀̀́*, as given/implicit information. They are most often time adjuncts; this the usual construction for past "when." On tense marking see §10.2.

Pf in the absolute clause implies a prior event, ipf simultaneous:

Ka ban yi la, ka Zugsob malek nie o meŋ
K̀̀́ b̀̀́n̄́ yī l̄́, k̀̀́ Z̄̀́g-s̀̀́b̄́ m̄́l̄́j̄́k̄́ n̄́́e ò m̄́eŋ
 and 3p.NZ exit the and Lord angel appear 3a self
 "After they had left, an angel of the Lord showed himself" Mt 2:13 B2

Ṓn d̄́́a nȳ́eṯ s̄́́ȳ́ā, ó́n d̄́́a á̀́n b̄́́-l̄́́a l̄́́a·?
 3a TNS see.IPF well 3a.NZ TNS be baby the·PQ
 "Did she see well when she was a baby?" W

Ka ban dit la, Yesu yeŋi ba ... "As they were eating, Jesus told them ..."
K̀̀́ b̀̀́n̄́ d̄́́t̄́ l̄́́, Yesu yeŋ̀̀́·b̄́́ā ... Mt 26:21
 and 3p.NZ eat.IPF the Jesus say·3p

Absolute clauses may also be verb subjects or complements:

Kristo da kp̄́i ti yela la ke ka ti baŋ noŋilim an si'em.
K̄́r̄́sto· d̄́́ à k̄́p̄́i ·t̄́́ ȳ́e_l̄́́ l̄́́ k̄́́e k̄́́ à t̄́́ b̄́́aŋ n̄́́oŋ̀̀́l̄́́m̄́· à̀́n s̄́́'e_m̄́.
 Christ·NZ TNS die 1p about the let and 1p realise love·NZ be how
 "Christ having died for us makes us understand what love is like." 1 Jn 3:16

Dine ke ka m a saalbiis zua la anε mam pu sa'amidi ba la'ad
ka mε pu diti ba ki la.

Dìnì· ké kà m àn sàal-biis zúá lā á nē mán pū sán'amídí ·bà lá'ad

DEM·NZ let and 1s be human.PL friend the be FOC 1s.NZ NG spoil.IPF 3p goods.PL

kà mé pū dí tí ·bà kī lāa·.

and also NG eat.IPF 3p millet the·NG

"What makes me a friend of human beings is my not spoiling their property or eating their millet." G1 p20

Nyē "see" may take an absolute-clause object in the sense of a relative clause headed by the absolute-clause subject; the information in such clauses may be new:

Ka m gat ka nye fvn digi fu ziimin la bilim.

Kà m gát kà nyē fún dīgí ·fù zīmí·n lā ·bílím.

and 1s pass.IPF and see 2s.NZ lie 2s blood·at the + roll

"I was passing and saw you rolling in your blood." Ez 16:6

Absolute clauses occur after prepositions §10.7.4 and before *zūgō* / *bō zúgō* "because of":

Ban mōr dēŋ la zug, ba kv di'e baa.

Bán mōr dēŋ lā zúg, bà kv dí'ə·báa·.

3p.NZ have wound the on 3p NG.IR receive·3p·NG

"Because they have a defect, they will not be accepted." Lv 22:25

They caption pictures in B, and precede *yēlá* "about" in section headings:
Ban meed yir "A house being built"; *Joram n di Israel na'am la yela* "Joram becomes king of Israel" 2Kgs ("about Joram having become ...")

Tense-slot adjunct *sādīgím* "because, since" appears only after *yà* "if" or *ñ*:

O ya'a sadigim an Naazir nid, on mid ka o di ...

Ò yá' sādīgím áñ Naazir níd, òn míd kà ò dí ...

3a if since be Nazirite person 3a beware and 3a eat

"Because he is a Nazirite, he should not eat ..." Nm 6:4

Amaa on sadigim kpi la, bō ka m lem lōd nōr ya'asε?

Àmáa ón sādīgím kpí lā, bó kà m lém lōd nōr yá'asè·?

but 3a.NZ since die the what and 1s again tie.IPF mouth again·CQ

"But since he has died, why should I still be fasting?" 2 Sm 12:23

11.4.2 Relative

Relative clauses are nominalised with *̀̀* and internally headed by a pronoun or by a cif with a dependent pronoun. Any verb argument or NP possessor may be relativised, even from within a subordinate clause. Heads remain *in situ*, but are often preposed with *kà* §12.4. Clauses with preposing show no *̀̀* after their subjects.

Heads forming all or part of the subject or of a preposed element are marked with short demonstratives; all others are marked with indefinite pronouns.

In older sources (and for W), *̀̀* only follows clause subjects, but in B3 *̀̀* follows *all* head-marking demonstratives, even in subject predependents and preposed heads:

fu bikanɛ san'ami fu la'ad nɛ pu'agɔɔnda la
fù bì-kà̀nì· sà̀n'amì ·fù lā'ad nē puá'-gɔ̀ɔ̀ndā lā
 2s child-DEM·NZ spoil 2s goods.PL with prostitute.PL the
 "your child who has wasted your goods on prostitutes" Lk 15:30

pu'a kanɛ biigi vɔɛ la "the woman whose child was alive"
puá'-kà̀nì· bìigí· vɔ̀ɛ lā 1 Kgs 3:26
 woman-DEM·NZ child·NZ live the

Demonstratives are not relatives when not part of the first constituent, and ordinary indefinites may follow demonstrative or precede indefinite heads:

on vɔ'ɔg ninkan kumin la zug
ón vɔ̀'ɔg nīn-kán kūmī·n lā zúg
 3a.NZ revive person-DEM death·at the on
 "because he has raised that person from death" Acts 17:31

Wina'am onɛ gaad si'el wɔsa la "God who surpasses everything."
Wínà'am ó̀nì· gàad sī'el wōsā lā Lk 1:35
 God DEMa·NZ pass IDFi all the

wɔɔ baŋi gban'ad si'el si'em la "like a trap seizes something"
wōɔ bāŋí· gbā̀n'ad sī'el sī'əm lā Lk 21:35
 like trap·NZ seize.IPF IDFi how the

Indefinites as relative heads may be omitted before ordinal expressions:

fɔn gban'e ziiŋ si'a yiiga la "the first fish you catch" Mt 17:27
fún gbā̀n'e zīŋ-sí'a yīigá lā
 2s.NZ catch fish-IDF firstly the

but Paul n sob gbauŋ yiiga daan n tis Korint dim la nwa.

Paul-̀n sōb gbáũŋ yīigá dàan n tìs Korint díim lā · ñwá.

Paul·NZ write letter firstly owner + give Corinth Øp the + this

"This is the first letter which Paul wrote to the Corinthians." (B2 heading)

NPs comprising/containing non-subject heads are often preposed with *kà*; resumptive pronouns appear for indirect objects, occasionally animate direct objects, and heads extracted from NPs, prepositional phrases or subordinate clauses.

Preposing is usual for specific complements:

Gbauŋ kanε ka ba da sobi tisi ba la nwa.

Gbàũŋ-kànì· kà bà dá sōbī · tìsì·bā lā · ñwá.

letter-DEM·NZ and 3p TNS write + give·3p the + this

"This is the letter that they wrote to them." Acts 15:23

bàn kà nà'ab lā ñwé' lā

"those whom the chief hit" W

DEMp and chief the hit the

niŋkanε ka ba gban'e o la

"a person whom they have seized"

nīn-kánì· kà bà gbán'o· lā

Acts 25:16

person-DEM·NZ and 3p seize·3a the

line [B2 lin] ka Kristo bōod ye ti pian' la

lìnì· kà Kristo bōod yé tì pīān' lā

DEMi·NZ and Christ want that 1p speak the

"what Christ wishes us to say" 2 Cor 12:19

pu'a kanε biig ka Elasia da vū'vug o kumin la

puà'-kànì· bíig kà Elasia dá vū'vug kūmī·n lā

woman-DEM·NZ child and Elisha TNS revive death·at the

"the woman whose child Elisha had raised from the dead" 2 Kgs 8:5

bikanε puvg ka o mōr la

"the child which she is pregnant with"

bì-kànì· pūvg kà ò mōr lā

("whose belly she has") Mt 1:20

child-DEM·NZ belly and 3a have the

one ka ba tis o ka li zu'oe

"one they have given much to" Lk 12:48

ònì· kà bà tìsò· kà lì zú'e

DEMa·NZ and 3p give·3a and 3i abound

Bōrā-sō' dāa bé ànínā, òn kà mān nē òn dāa túm lā.

man-IDFa TNS exist there DEMa and 1s with 3a TNS work.IPF the

"There was a man there whom I used to work with." Spratt

Preposing is not invariable, however:

Fùn bōod ye fù kù dau sō' la ya'a kpi

Fùn bōod yé fù kù dáy-sō' lā yá' kpi

2s.NZ want that 2s kill man-IDFa the if die

"If the man whom you are seeking to kill dies" 2 Sm 17:3

Kem tū'us Samaria na'abi tùm ninsieba la na

Kèm · tū'us Samaria ná'abí· tùm nīn-síebà lā nā

go.IMP + meet Samaria king-NZ send person-IDFp the hither

"Go and meet the men sent by the king of Samaria" 2 Kgs 1:3

Nannanna, yaname daa sōb gbaŋ si'a la ka m sōbidi lēbisidi ya.

Nānná-nā, yānámì dāa sōb gbáŋ-sī'a lá kà m sōbìdī · lēbìsìdī-yá.

Now 2p.NZ TNS write letter-IDF the and 1s write.IPF + reply.IPF·2p

"Now, it's the letter you wrote that I'm writing back to you about." 1 Cor 7:1

In particular, complements of verbs of cognition, perception or communication representing "subordinate interrogatives" (CGEL p1070) are not usually preposed:

David da tùm sō' ye o bu'osi baŋ pu'a la an sō'.

David dá tùm sō' yé ò bū'əsī · bāŋ puā' lá· àn sō'.

David TNS send IDFa that 3a ask + discover woman the·NZ be IDFa

"David sent someone to ask and find out who the woman was." 2 Sm 11:3

Gōsim ye fù na baŋ la'abama an sō' bunnèè?

Gòsìm yé fù ná bāŋ lá'-bàmmá· àn sō' búnnèè·?

look.IMP that 2s IR understand item-DEMp·NZ be IDFa thing-PQ

"Can you look and find out whose property these things are?" Gn 38:25

M mi' man gaŋ sieba la.

M mí' mán gāŋ sīebā lā.

1s know 1s.NZ choose IDFp the

"I know those whom I have chosen."

Jn 13:18

Ón yèl sī'əl lā kā' sídāa·.

3a.NZ say IDFi the NG.be truth·NG

"What he says is not true" S

Ya baŋ man niŋ si'el la gbinnεε?

Yà báŋ mán niŋ sī'el lā gbínnèε·?

2p understand 1s.NZ do IDFi the meaning·CQ

"Do you understand the meaning of what I have done?" Jn 13:12

Tiig walaa bigisid lin an tisi'a.

Tiig wélà · bigisid lín àn tí-sī'a.

tree fruit.PL + show.IPF 3i.NZ be tree-IDF

"It is the fruit of the tree that shows what tree it is." Mt 12:33

M na tumi m Ba' zi'el nɔɔr sɔ' yela la tisi ya.

M ná tōmí ·m Bá' zì'el nōɔr sō' yélà · tísi·yā.

1s IR send 1s father·NZ stand mouth IDFa about + give·2p

"I will send whom my Father made a promise about to you." Lk 24:49

Non-specific complements are not preposed:

Ka ban tum sɔ' la ku gaad one tum o la.

Kà bán tùm sɔ' lā kú gāad ónè· tùmò· lāa·.

and 3p.NZ send IDFa the NG.IR pass DEMa·NZ send·3a the-NG

"One who was sent will not surpass the one who sent him." Jn 13:16

M na tisif fun bɔɔd si'el wɔsa.

M ná tīsī·f fún bòɔd sī'el wōsā.

1s IR give·2s 2s.NZ want IDFi all

"I will give you anything you want."

Mk 6:23

Adjuncts are not usually preposed; most exceptions involve place NPs.

Sī'el_a is often "where"; in B2, 75% of cifs before *sī'a* express time or place. Locative *n/nī'* does not follow heads, but may follow entire clauses to express rest at a place.

yikan ka mam Paul be la

yī-kán kà mām Paul bé lā

house-DEM and 1s Paul exist the

"the house where I, Paul, am"

Rom 16:23 B1

ka mɔri fu keŋ zin'ikane ka fu pu bɔɔda.

kà mōrí·fù · kēŋ zín'-kànè· kà fù pū bóɔdā·.

and have·2s + go place-DEM·NZ and 2s NG want·NG

"and take you where you do not want." Jn 21:18

winnigi yit si'el hali ti paae on lut si'el la
 wìnnìgì· yīt sī'el hālí · tì pāe ón lùt sī'el lā
 sun·NZ exit.IPF IDFi until + next reach 3a.NZ fall.IPF IDFi the
 "where the sun rises to where the sun sets" Ps 65:8

M Zugsoba, ti zi' fun ken zin'isi'a la.
 M̃ Zūg-sóbā·, tì zī' fún kēn zín'-sī'a lāa·.
 1s Lord·VOC 1p NG.know 2s.NZ go.IPF place-IDF the-NG
 "My Lord, we don't know where you are going." Jn 14:5

Ka bugum nie on be doog si'a la ni.
 Kà bùgúm níe ón bè dó-sī'a lā ní.
 and fire appear 3a.NZ exist room-IDF the at
 "And fire illuminated the room where he was." Acts 12:7 B2

Abraham da nan kae saṅsi'a la, ka man pɔn bɛ.
 Abraham· dà nàm kā'ɛ sān-sī'a lā kà mǎn pún bè.
 Abraham·NZ TNS still NG.exist time-IDF the and 1s already exist
 "Before Abraham existed, I already existed." Jn 8:58

Sī'əm "somehow" (never preposed) is common as "how" or as abstract "what";
 a following **lā'** marks old information, as usual:

M̃ mí' mán nà nīṅ sī'əm.
 1s know 1s.NZ IR do how
 "I know what to do."

M̃ mí' mán nà nīṅ sī'əm lā.
 1s know 1s.NZ IR do how the
 "I know what I'm to do." (W: "You explained the plan earlier; this is my reply when you ask if I remember it")

Bà nà yēlī·f fún nà nīṅ sī'əm.
 3p IR tell·2s 2s.NZ IR do how
 "They'll tell you what to do."

Bà yèlō· bán nīṅ sī'əm lā.
 3p say·3a 3p.NZ do how the
 "They told him what they'd done."

M̃ gbán'e mán nà nīṅ sī'əm.
 1s seize 1s.NZ IR do how
 "I've decided what to do."

So too **ón bòòd sī'əm** "as he may wish" versus **lín àn sī'əm lā** "as things are."
Là'am nē or **hālí nē** with a **sī'əm** clause means "although" §10.7.4.

Sī'əm clauses may follow **gàad** "surpass" to compare actions:

Mam tùm bēdegv gaad ban tùm si'em la.

Mām tùm bēdegv · gāad bán tùm sī'əm lā.

1s work much + pass 3p.NZ work how the

"I've worked much harder than they have." 2 Cor 11:23

They often occur as objects of **wōv** "like", **wēn_{na}'** "be like":

ka ya na ke ka nidib dōl man wōv ziiṅgba'adibi gban'ad zimi si'em la.

kà yà ná ké kà nīdīb dōl mān wōv zīm-gbān'adībì · gbān'ad zīmí sī'əm lā.

and 2p IR let and person.PL follow 1s like fisher.PL·NZ catch.IPF fish.PL how the

"you will make people follow me like fishers catch fish." Mt 4:19

Relative clauses with uncompounded heads are often used as appositives. This is the only possible construction after heads that cannot form cifs, and is also common when the head has a predependent other than a personal pronoun:

o da be ne mōogin line kpi'e Sinai zuor la

ò dà bè nē mōogv-n línì · kpì'e Sinai zùer lā

3a TNS exist FOC grass·at DEMi·NZ get.near Sinai hill the

"he was in the desert near Mount Sinai" Acts 7:30

yeltōod ayōpōi bane ka maliaknama ayōpōi mōr la

yēl-tōod àyōpōe bánì · kà màlīāk-námá · àyōpōe mōr lā

matter-bitter.PL seven DEMp·NZ and angel-PL seven have the

"the seven plagues which the seven angels have" Rv 15:8

Wina'am nid one ki'is Zugsōb pian'ad la

Wínà'am níd ònì · kī'is Zūg-sób pīān'ad lā

God person DEMa·NZ deny Lord word the

"the man of God who refused the Lord's word" 1 Kgs 13:26

While non-appositive relative clauses are restrictive, the appositional construction allows non-restrictive meanings:

o sid one da be ne o la

ò sīd ónì · dà bè nó · lā

3a husband DEMa·NZ TNS exist with·3a the

"her husband [the only other human being], who was there with her" Gn 3:6

11.5 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses follow *yē* (from **ni*, Mampruli *ni*, Toende *ye/ne*), much less often *kà* (B3 has 258 examples of *nar ye* to 45 *nar ka*.) They lack tense and m/c marking. The sense is sometimes attenuated to "until." Negative raising appears:

Ti p̄ b̄od ye dau kaŋa aan ti na'aba.

Tì p̄ b̄od yē dáu-kàŋā áan ·tì nà'abā.

1p NG want that man-DEM be 1p king·NG

"We don't want this man to be our king." Lk 19:14

This prevents mood from being apparent in purpose-clause complements, but adjuncts normally use *dā* as negative; however, *kù* can appear, e.g. *O niŋ ne'εŋa ye nid kv nyaŋi dv'vs o meŋ Wina'am tuonne* "He did this so that nobody would be able to boast before God" 1 Cor 1:29.

Purpose-clause complements follow expressions of necessity or permission, like *nār_a'* "be needful" (personally "have to"), *mōr sūer* "be allowed to", *lì à [nē] tīlās* "it is necessary", and verbs of intent or expectation, like *bòod_a* "want", *gūr_a'* "watch for."

Lì nār yé/kà fù kùl.

3i must that/and 2s go.home

"You must go home."

Fù p̄ nār yé fù kùlē.

2s NG must that 2s go.home·NG

"You must not go home."

babayi' la nar ye ba kuv ba
bà bàyí' lā nār yé bà kúv·bā

3p two the must that 3p kill·3p

"both of them must be killed" Lv 20:12

Yà mōr sūer yé yà kùl.

2p have way that 2p go.home

"You may go home."

Sūer bé yé/kà tì kùl.

way exist that/and 1p go.home

"We may go home."

Lì à nē tīlās yé m̄ kùl.

3i be FOC necessity that 1s go.home

"I must go home."

gur ye pu'a la du'a
gūr yē p̄ā' lā d̄á'

watch that woman the bear

"waiting for the woman to give birth"
Rv 12:4

A purpose-clause adjunct:

Νε'εγα νιηνε ye ti da ti'e ti μεη panga.

Νε'εγα νιη νε γέ τι δά τί'ε τι μεη πάγα·

DEMi do FOC that 1p NG.IMP rely 1p self power·NG

"This was done so that we would not rely on our own strength." 2 Cor 1:9

The main clause may be ellipted:

Μ δίγυνε·?

"Am I to lie down?" (overheard)

1s lie·PQ

Àσέε "unless" appears as a clause *adjunct* "necessarily" in purpose clauses:

Nannanna tòm ka ba mōr o na, ka aσεε o kpi!

Nānnā-nā, tòm kà bà mōrō· nā, kà àσέε ò kpi!

now send.IMP and 3p have·3a hither and unless 3a die

"Now get him brought here so that he may certainly die!" 1 Sm 20: 31

ka o gban'e ye aσεε ka o keη Jerusalem

kà ò gbān'e yé àσέε kà ò kēη Jerusalem

and 3a seize that unless and 3a go Jerusalem

"and he made up his mind to go to Jerusalem." Lk 9:51

Àσέε kà ... also occurs independently with the sense "It is necessary that ..."

Aσεε ka fù kpi.

"You will surely die." 2 Kgs 1:4

Àσέε kà fù kpi.

unless and 2s die

11.6 Content clauses

Content clauses are introduced by *yē*, much less often *kà* (B3 has 219 examples of *ten'es ye* to 31 of *tenes ka*.) They have m/c marking and show the same range of structures as main clauses; tense and mood are marked, relative to the main clause. Content clauses follow verbs of cognition or communication, like *mī* "know", *tēn'es* "think", *pà'al* "teach", *sjàk* "agree", *tìs nōor* "order", *sòs* "request", *yèl* "say", and *wòm* "hear" in the sense "hear that something is so" (*nyē* "see/find" is used only of physical perception §11.3.2.)

Content clauses also appear as complements of àɛ̀n̄ya "be":

M diib anɛ ye m tɔm onɛ tɔmi m la na bɔɔdim naae.

M̄ dīb á nē yé m̄ tóm ònì· tòmì·m lā nā bɔɔdīm · nāe.

1s food be FOC that 1s work DEMa·NZ send·1s the hither will + finish

"My food is that I do the will of him who sent me completely." Jn 4:34

Negative raising takes place after verbs expressing opinions or judgments, but not verbs of knowing or informing:

Mam pu tɛn'es ye o na kɛligi m pian'ade.

Mām pū tēn'es yé ò nà kēlígí ·m̄ piàn'adē·.

1s NG think that 3a IR listen 1s word.PL·NG

"I do not think that he will listen to my words." Jb 9:16

but linzug ka ti baŋ ye o pu yi Wina'am san'an naa.

Lìn-zúg kà tì báj yé ò pū yī Wínà'am sán'an náa·.

therefore and 1p realise that 3a NG exit God with hither·NG

"Therefore we realise he has not come from God." Jn 9:16

ka o lɛɛ pu baŋ ye li anɛ onɛ.

"but she didn't realise it was him."

kà ò lɛɛ pū báj yé lì à nē ɔnē·.

Jn 20:14

and 3a but NG realise that 3i be FOC 3a·NG

Except in reported speech, personal pronouns reflect the context of the main clause. Commands may appear with 1st or 3rd person subjects, and 2s/p pronouns remain unaltered before the verb. Subject pronouns are never ellipted after kà.

Ya tɛn'es ka m aan anɔ'ɔnɛ?

"Who do you think I am?" Acts 13:25

Yà tēn'es kà m̄ áan ·ànó'ɔnè·?

2p think and 1s be who·CQ

Fɔnɛ siak ye fɔ ya'a ti kae, o na zin'ini fɔ na'am gbaun la zugɔɔ?

Fɔnī · sɪák yé fù yá' tì ká'e·, ò nà zīn'iní ·fù nā'am gbáun lā zúgɔɔ·?

2s + agree that 2s if next NG.exist·NG 3a IR sit 2s kingship skin the on·PQ

"Did you agree that when you are gone, he will sit on your throne?" 1 Kgs 1:24

M pu yel ye ya sɔsim Wina'am din yelaa.

M̄ pū yél yé yà sòsìm Wínà'am dīn yēláa·.

1s NG say that 2p beg.IMP God 3i about·NG

"I don't say that you should pray to God about that." 1 Jn 5:16

ka David tis nōor ye ba nyu'om bada la ne bugum.

kà David tís nōor yé bà nyù'əm bádà lā nē búgúm.

and David give mouth that 3p burn.IMP idol.PL the with fire

"And David ordered them to burn the idols with fire." 1 Chr 14:12

Wada la kv yel nid ye o da niŋ bamaa.

Wádá lā kú yēl nīd yé ò dā níŋ bàmmáa.

law the NG.IR say person that 3a NG.IMP do DEMp-NG

"The law will not tell a person not to do these things." Gal 5:23

ka bu'os o ye, o sid kpine.

kà bŭ'əsó· yē, ò sīd kpì nē.

and ask-3a that 3a truly die FOC

"and asked him if he was really dead."

Mk 15:44 B2

M̄ tēn'es kà m̄ lú yā.

1s think and 1s fall m/c

"I think I've fallen." W

Ellipsis may produce self-standing 1st/3rd person indirect commands:

[M̄ yél yé] ò gòsìm tēŋī-n.

"[I said] she should look down."

[M̄ tēn'es kà] tì pú'usìm Wínà'am.

"[I think] we should praise God."

Zàn'as "refuse" is followed by a content clause with negative polarity:

ka o zan'as ye ba kv keŋε.

"and he refused to let them go." Ex 9:7

kà ò zān'as yé bà kú kēŋé.

and 3a refuse that 3p NG.IR go-NG

Yèl "say" is frequently ellipted before yē:

Ba ye balerug ka fu ye zumauk.

"They say 'ugly', you say 'squashhead.'"

Bà yē bālērōg, kà fù yē zūg-máuk.

G2 p43 (Six of one ...)

3p that ugly and 2s that head-crumpled

In B2/3, reported speech uses the same personal pronouns as direct speech, but in older texts pronouns in reported speech reflect the main clause context, just as in other content clauses. B1 may continue this over many pages, regularly including even embedded vocatives. When contrastive 3rd person pronouns appear, they are logophoric; in subject roles, they are often used even where ambiguity is unlikely:

ka Festus tans Paul ye o geem ne ... ka Paul lebis ye on pu geem.
kà Festus táns Paul yé ò gèènm nē ... kà Paul lébìs yē òn pū géènm̄.
 and Festus shout Paul that 3a go.mad FOC and Paul reply that 3a NG go.mad·NG
 "Festus shouted to Paul that he [Paul] was mad ...
 Paul replied that he [Paul] was not mad." Acts 26:24-25 B1

Dau da be mori o po'a yimmir, ka po'a la ye on pu lem bood ye o sid la di
 po'a ya'ase.
Dāu dá bè · mōrí ·ò pṽà'-yīmmír, kà pṽā' lā yē
 man TNS exist + have 3a wife-single and wife the that
òn pū lém bòod yé ò sīd lā dí pṽā' yá'asē.
 3a NG again want that 3a husband the take wife again·NG
 "There was a man who had one wife. The wife said that she did not want her
 husband to marry again." G2 p26

Regardless of the pronoun strategy, longer passages of reported speech insert
 a resumptive **yē** immediately before clause-linking **kà** or the subject in about every
 third main clause; tense marking is unaffected.

Ye ka Paul yel ye o bood ye o kpelim sarega ni.
Yé kà Paul yél yé ò bòod yé ò kpélīm sārīgá nì.
 that and Paul say that 3a want that 3a remain prison at
 "But Paul said he wanted to remain in prison." Acts 25:21 B1

Amaa ye ka on yeli ba ... "But he had said to them ..."
Àmáa yé kà òn yélì·bā ... Acts 25:16 B1
 but that and 3a say·3p

Ka nanana ye o niñi ba Wina'am ne o popielim pia'ad la nu'usin
Kà nānná-nā yé ò niñī·bá Wínà'am né ò pṽ-pìèlīm pīān'ad lā nú'usī·n
 and now that 3a do·3p God with 3a holiness speech the hand.PL-at
 "And now he committed them to God and his holy word" Acts 20:32 B1

Ka m wum Wina'am kokor ka li yi arazana ni na ye,
 o nidiba, ye ba yimi teng la ni na.
Kà m̄ wóm Wínà'am kókór kà lì yī áràzánà ní nā yē,
 and 1s hear God voice and 3i exit heaven at hither that
ò nīdìbá, yé bà yīmī· tēŋ lā ní nā.
 3a person.PL·VOC that 3p exit.IMP·2pS land the at hither
 "And I heard God's voice coming from heaven, saying
 'My people, come out of the land!'" Rv 18:4 B1

11.7 Prepositions as subordinators

All prepositions §10.7.4 other than **nē** can be used as clause subordinators.

The linker **yē** is found only after **bēε** "or."

Wōv "like" does not occur before linkers:

M pian'adi tisidi ya wov ya anε m biis nε.

M pīán'adī · tísdī·yá wóv yà á né m bīis nē.

1s speak.IPF + give.IPF·2p like 2p be FOC 1s child.PL like

"I talk to you as if you were my children." 2 Cor 6:13

Àséε appears alone or before **kà** in the meaning "unless":

Ti kv zin'inε asεε o ti paae na.

"We will not stop until he arrives."

Tì kú zī'iné· àséε ò tí pāa nā.

1 Sm 16:11

1p NG.IR sit·NG unless 3a then arrive hither

M kv basif ka fv keŋε asεε ka fv niŋi m zug bareka.

M kú bāsí·f kà fù kēŋé· àséε kà fù níŋì ·m zūg bāríkà.

1s NG.IR leave·2s and 2s go·NG unless and 2s do 1s head blessing

"I will not let you go unless you bless me." Gn 32:26

Note that the negative enclitic *precedes* **àséε**, despite the subordination.

Àséε also appears as a clause adjunct in purpose clauses §11.5.

Hālí means "until, up to" before **n** or **kà**:

Ti nwa'ae li hali paae Nofa.

"We struck it as far as Nophah."

Tì nḡá'a·lī hālí · pāe Nofa.

Nm 21:30

1p strike·3i until + reach Nophah

Zugsob la da ke ka kùkòm ban'as gban'e Na'ab la, hali ka o ti kpi.

Zūg-sób lā dá kè kà kùkòm bān'as gbān'e Nā'ab lā, hālí kà ò tí kpi.

Lord the TNS let and leper disease seize king the until and 3a next die

"The Lord made leprosy afflict the king for the rest of his life." 2Kgs 15:5

When subordinating without following linkers, **hālí** is a focusing modifier §12.2.

12 Information packaging12.1 Focus

Informational focus marks addressee-new information (CGEL p1370), contrast, or both; the prototypical example of new information is that given in response to a content question. Clause predicates are new information by default, but focus on subjects or VP constituents is specifically marked. Focus is distinct from foregrounding, which is effected by clefting.

Subject focusing inserts catenating *n* after the subject. The clause lacks *m/c* marking, but has normal tense marking.

Wáafù · dúmō.

snake + bite:3a

"A snake has bitten him." W
(What's happened?)

Subjects containing interrogative pronouns are always *n*-focused:

Ànó'ònì · kābirídà?

who + ask.entry.IPF·CQ

"Who is asking permission to enter?"

Anó'òn yaangi aan o?

Ànô'òn yâanjì · áńó·o?

who grandchild + be:3a·CQ

"Whose descendant is he?" Mt 22:42

VP focusing uses the particle *nē'*. When *nē'* follows a verb with no intervening free words, it usually marks *temporal* focus where possible (see below); otherwise, it precedes focused VP constituents, or follows the entire VP to focus the verb.

Nē' cannot appear twice in a clause. Unlike *nē* "with", it is limited to particular clause types, never precedes bound pronouns, and need not precede a NP. It cannot appear in clauses with subject focus, nominalised clauses, or content questions:

Ànó'ònì · dít sá'abò?

who + eat.IPF porridge·CQ

"Who eats/is eating porridge?"

Ì zūg lā zábìd nē.

1s head the fight.IPF FOC

"My head is hurting."

(What's the matter with you?)

but Ì zūgō · zábìd.

1s head + fight.IPF

"My head is hurting/hurts."

(Where is the pain?)

Ì á nē bìig.

1s be FOC child

"I am a child."

but Ì áan ·ànó'onè·?

1s be who-CQ

"Who am I?"

mán àn bìig lā zúg

1s.NZ be child the on

"because I'm a child"

Ì yí nē Bók.

1s exit FOC Bawku

"I come from Bawku." S

but Meeri one yi Magdala
Meeri ónì· yī Magdala

Mary DEMa·NZ exit Magdala

"Mary who came from Magdala"
Mk 16:9 B2

Fù bôod nē bó·?

2s want with what-CQ

"What do you want it *with*?" W
(Fù bôod bó·? "What do you want?")

Fù wá'e yáa·?

2s go where-CQ

"Where are you going/do you go?"

Bùgúm lā yít yáa ní ná·?

fire the exit.IPF where at hither-CQ

"Where is the light coming from?" S

Purpose clauses allow **nē'**:

Pian'am ka m bôod ye fu nyene buud.

Pìàn'am kà m bôod yé fù nyē nē bōud.

speak.IMP and 1s want that 2s see FOC innocence

"Speak, for I want you to be vindicated." Jb 33:32

It may appear once in a series of catenated clauses:

amaa o bas sariakadib la tis ne Biig la

àmáa ò bàs sáryà-kādīb lā · tís nē Biig lā

but 3a leave law-driving the + give FOC child the

"but he has left the judging to the Son" Jn 5:22

Nē' is omitted in replying by repeating the verb, e.g. **Ì gósìd!** "I'm looking!" in response to **Fù gósìd nē·?** "Are you looking?" or **Gòsìm!** "Look!"

After a positive indicative verb, with no free words intervening, *nē'* by default marks temporal focus, implying "at the time referred to *in particular*." With ipfs, the time referred to is then strictly contained within the time of the situation, as with English progressives (CGEL pp125ff); the construction is similarly not freely used with relationship or quality verbs. With pfs expressing events, the time referred to and the time of the situation always coincide, and temporal focus is not possible. However, pfs expressing a change of state in the subject may express the resulting state itself; as this state follows after the action, the time referred to and the time of the situation never coincide. Accordingly, temporal *nē'* after a pf marks it as stative, and if a pf cannot express a subject state change, a following *nē'* cannot be temporal.

If the VP is negative, or if *nē'* is separated from the verb by free words or altogether excluded by the clause type, temporal focus is unmarked:

	Ò zàbìd.	"He fights."
	Ò zàbìd nē.	"He's fighting."
but	Ò p̄ zábìdā.	"He's not fighting/doesn't fight."
	Ò kùəsìdī·bá nē.	"She's selling them."
	3a sell.IPF·3p FOC	
	Ò kùəsìd nē sūmmā lā.	"She is selling the groundnuts."
	3a sell.IPF FOC groundnut.PL the	
but	Ò kùəsìd sūmmā lā nē.	"She <i>sells/is selling</i> the groundnuts." (constituent focus: "They're not free.")
	3a sell.IPF groundnut.PL the FOC	
	Bó kà ò kùəsìdà·?	
	what and 3a sell.IPF·CQ	
or	Ò kùəsìd bó·?	"What does she sell/is she selling?"
	3a do.IPF what·CQ	

Potential ambiguity between temporal and constituent focus interpretations of *nē'* is further reduced by the fact that many verb forms do not accept temporal focus.

The VP must be indicative, so e.g. *Gòsìm nē!* "Look!" (i.e. Don't touch! W) necessarily shows constituent focus.

Only pfs able to express a subject state change can be stative, so the focus must be on constituents in

Ṁ dá' nē búŋ.

1s buy FOC donkey

"I've bought a *donkey*."
(What have you bought?)

Ò òìgìl nē.

3a lay FOC

"He's *laid it down*."
(I thought he'd pick it up.)

Stances and body positions are not states in Kusaal; thus

Ò òìgìn nē.

3a lie FOC

"He's *lain down*." D: "Someone calls at your house; he thinks you're out but I'm explaining that you've gone to bed."
W: "You've said: the child looks filthy. I'm replying: He's been lying down."

Ò zì'ə̀n nē.

3a stand FOC

"She's pregnant."
(idiomatic constituent focus)

Tense-unmarked pfs in narrative cannot accept temporal focus §10.2.

Relationship and quality verbs, and ipfs of verbs in the middle construction §10.7.1 do not accept progressive or multiple-event readings; here, temporal focus is only felicitous if the clause contains an explicit time reference (even just a past tense marker), implying a temporary state of affairs and contrasting the time referred to with other times. Focus is thus on constituents in e.g.

Lì vè̀n nē.

3i be.beautiful FOC

"It's *beautiful*." (I did not expect that.)

Ṁ bóòdī·f nē.

1s want·2s FOC

"I really want you." W

Ṁ mór nē puā'.

1s have FOC woman

"I have a woman."
(implies an irregular liaison, W)

Dāká lā zánl nē.

box the hand.carry FOC

"The box gets carried *in the hands*."
(Not on your head.)

Dāam lā nūud nē.

beer the drink.IPF FOC

"The beer is *for drinking*." (Not washing; not "is being drunk"; cf [Dāam lā nūud](#) "The beer gets drunk." W)

On the other hand, *nē'* marks a temporary state in

Nānnánā, lè vèn nē.
now 3i be.beautiful FOC

"Just now, it's beautiful."

Lì dāa vén nē.
3i TNS be.beautiful FOC

"It *was* beautiful." W: "I gave you a cup; it was OK then, but now you've spoilt it."

Mù'ar lā dāa zúlìm nē.
lake the TNS be.deep FOC

"The lake *was* deep."
(Now it's shallow. W)

Lì dāa á nē súḡā.
3i TNS be FOC well

"At the time, it was good." W
(*Lì dāa án súḡā.* "It was good." W)

Generic subjects are incompatible with temporal focus:

Nā'-síebà ónbìd nē mōɔd lā.
cow-IDFp chew.IPF FOC grass.PL the

"Some cows are eating the grass."

but *Nīigí ònbìd nē mōɔd. Bà nùud nē kù'əm.*
cow.PL chew.IPF FOC grass.PL 3p drink.IPF FOC water

"Cows eat *grass*. They drink *water*." (What do cows eat and drink?)

NPs containing *sùḡā'/sùm* "well", *bē'ed* "bad" or *sìdà* "truth" as manner nouns, or the "two, three exactly" quantifiers *àyíḡā' àtáḡā'*, are not permitted targets of focus with *nē'*; preceding *nē'* *must* be temporal, and even relationship or quality verbs with no clause time marking are constrained to the temporary-state meaning.

Lì àn súḡā/bē'ed.
3i be well badness

"It's good/bad."

[ye ka] o sariakadib a sum ne sida.
ò sàríyà-kādīb án sùm nē sídà.
3a law-driving be good with truth

"His judgment is good and true."
Rv 19:2 B1

but *Lì à nē súḡā.*
3i be FOC well

"It's good." (Now; it wasn't before. W)

M mór nē bīisá ·àtáḡā.
1s have FOC child.PL three.exactly

"I've got exactly three children just now."
D: "On a school trip, talking about how many children everyone has brought."

As old information, definite NPs are usually only focused contrastively, e.g.

Fu pu ma' n tis ninsaala, amaa fu ma' n tis ne Wina'am Siig Suḡ.

Fù p̄ má' n t̄is n̄in-sáalā·, àmáa fù má' n t̄is n̄ē Wínà'am Sí-sùḡ.

2s NG lie + give human·NG but 2s lie + give FOC God spirit-good

"You have lied not to a human being, but to the Holy Spirit." Acts 5:4 B2

However, proper names may be new information when not referring:

O yu'ur na ane Joon.

"His name will be John." Lk 1:60

Ò yū'ur ná ā nē Joon.

3a name IR be FOC John

New information may lie in the internal structure of an argument:

Ba ane Apam biis.

"They are Apam's children." G3 p6

Bà à né à Pām b̄iis.

(Apam and the children have been

3p be FOC PZ Apam child.PL

mentioned, but not their relationship)

This is common with nominalised clauses as arguments.

Location at a known place may be new information:

Ì yí nē Bók.

"I come from Bawku." S

1s exit FOC Bawku

Bè "exist" with a focused place adjunct means "be somewhere":

Dàṽ-sō' bé d́ó-kàṅā lā p̄úḡṽ·n.

"There is a man in that hut."

man-IDFa exist hut-DEM the inside

but Ò b̄è n̄ē d́ó-kàṅā lā p̄úḡṽ·n.

"He is inside that hut." (Where is he?)

3a exist FOC hut-DEM the inside

Mam bene moogin.

"I'm in the bush." G1 p8

Mām bé n̄ē m̄ōḡṽ·n.

(cf *Moogin ka mam be*, G1 p10)

1s exist FOC grass-at

The complement of àɛ́nyá "be something" in ascriptive sense is typically new information and preceded by nḗ when syntactically permitted; in the specifying sense, the subject usually has n-focus instead:

Dīb á nḗ bōn-súŋ.

food be FOC thing-good

"Food is a good thing."

Ò à nḗ bāanlím.

3a be FOC quietness

"She is quiet."

Lì à nḗ bōgvsígā.

3i be FOC softly

"It's soft."

M á nḗ dú'atà.

1s be FOC doctor

"I'm a doctor." (What do you do?)

Mānī · án dú'atà lā.

1s + be doctor the

"I'm the doctor." (Which is the doctor?)

Mānī · án dú'atà àmáa fōn pō ányā.

1s + be doctor but 2s NG be·NG

"I'm a doctor but you aren't."

Nōbibisi a mam disuŋ.

Nō-bíbìsì · án mām dí-sùŋ.

hen-small.PL + be 1s food-good

"Chicks are my favourite food." G1 p13

Focus on an argument under the scope of a negative is contrastive:

M̄ kā' dú'atāa.

1s NG.be doctor·NG

"I'm not a doctor."

M̄ kā' nḗ dú'atāa.

1s NG.be FOC doctor·NG

"I'm not a *doctor*." (I'm a nurse.)

M̄ pō dá' nḗ bōŋā.

1s NG buy FOC donkey·NG

"I haven't bought a *donkey*."
(I bought something else.)

12.2 Focusing modifiers

Focusing modifiers relate constituents to the discourse context. Most follow top-level NPs. ("Focus" here refers to the scope of the modifier, CGEL p589.)

mè, W **mèn**; clause finally **mèn** "also, too." It may focus an *ellipted* subject pronoun.

O pu'a mɛ kena.

"His wife also came." Acts 5:7

Ò pɔ̄'á' mé ké nā.

3a wife also come hither

bɔzugɔ o anɛ fɔ biig mɛn.

"Because he is your child too." Gn 21:13

bō zúgɔ ò à né fù bīig mén.

because 3a be FOC 2s child also

Manɛ maal Israel, ka mɛ aan ya na'ab.

Mānī · mâal Israel, kà mé áan ·yà nà'ab.

1s + make Israel and also be 2p king

"I created Israel, and am also your king." Is 43:15

nōɔ "just, exactly": e.g. **dàa-kàn lā nōɔ** "that very day", and

Fɔ ya'a mɔr ya'am, fɔn nɔɔ na dii li malisim.

Fù yá' mōr yā'am, fōn nōɔ ná díi ·lì mālísím.

2s if have sense 2s exactly IR eat 3i joy

"If you have wisdom, it is you who will have joy of it." Prv 9:12

kòtāa_n "at all" appears in **Áyì kòtāa**. "Not at all."

mà'aa (lf **mà'anè**) "only":

Zina ma'aa ka m wɔm.

"Only today have I heard it." Gn 21:26

Zíná má'aa kà m wóm.

today only and 1s hear

gùllimm (lf **gùllìmnè**) "only":

Li ka'anɛ Wina'am gullim nɛ?

"Is it not God alone?" Lk 5:21

Lì ká' nē Wínà'am gùllìmnè·?

3i NG.be FOC God only-NG-PQ

báa with a negative VP means "even" in the adjunct **báa bī'elá** "(not) even a little" and in the NP postdependent **báa yīnní** "(not) even one":

Da tūmi si'el baa bi'elaa. "Do no work at all." Lv 23:31
Dā tūmī· sī'el báa bī'eláa·.
 NG.IMP work-2pS IDFi even slightly·NG

Fv du'adib baa yinne kae ka o yv'vr buon alaa.
Fv dō'adīb báa yīnní ká'ẹ̀ kà ò yv'vr bûen àláa·.
 2s relative.PL even one NG.exist and 3a name call.IPF thus·NG
 "Not one of your relatives is called that." Lk 1:61

hālí "as far as" §10.7.4 is a focusing modifier before NPs or clauses not expressing time or place. Before manner nouns it means "very"; the noun itself is often ellipted:

Lì tẹ̀ hālí [béduḡō]. "It's very difficult."
 3i be.bitter until much

Hālí (là'am) nē means "even" before nominalised clauses:

hali la'am nɛ on zi' la "even though he does not know" Lv 5:3
hālí là'am nē ón zī' lā
 even together with 3a.NZ NG.know the

hali nɛ man daa sɔbi tisi ya si'em la, m daa pɔ sɔbi li ...
hālí nē mán dāa sōbī· tísì·yā sī'əm lā, m dāa pō sōbí·lī ...
 even with 1s.NZ TNS write + give·2p how the 1s TNS NG write·3i
 "Despite how I wrote to you, I did not write it ..." 2 Cor 7:12

Hali nɛ man vɔe nwa ... "Even as I live ..." Rom 14:11
Hālí nē mán vōẹ̀ n̄wá ...
 even with 1s.NZ live this

Hālí (báa) as a clause subordinator without following **n** or **kà** means "even"; the scope may be the subject, the VP, or a clause adjunct like a **yà'**-clause.

Hali tɔumbe'ed dim niḡid ala. "Even sinners do that." Lk 6:33
Hālí tòum-bē'ed díḡm níḡìd àlá.
 even deed-bad.PL Øp do.IPF thus

Hali o be suori kenna ye o tu'ʊsif.

Hālì ò bè sūārī · kēn nā yé ò tū'ʊsí·f.

even 3a exist road + come.IPF hither that 3a meet·2s

"He's even now on the way coming here to meet you." Ex 4:14

Hali baa bama wusa ya'a na zo ka basif, man ku basi fo.

Hālì báa bàmmā wūsā yá' nà zó kà básì·f, mán kú bāsī·fó·.

even DEMp all if IR run and leave·2s 1s NG.IR leave·2s·NG

"Even if they all run away and leave you, I will not." Mt 26:33

12.3 Clefting

In clefting, either an identificational clause or *Lì à nē* NP "It is ..." is followed by a *n*-catenation when the catenated clause subject is the same, and otherwise by an adnominal *kà*-catenation. The subject of the first clause is both foregrounded and focused; in statements, there is an implication of exhaustiveness and exclusiveness:

Anɔ'on nwaa yisid nidib tɔɔmbe'edi basida?

Ànɔ'ɔn · n̄wáa · yīsīd nīdīb t̄ɔɔm-bē'edī · básīdà·?

who + this + expel.IPF person.PL deed-bad.PL + reject.IPF·CQ

"Who is this who drives people's sins out?" Lk 7:49

Li ane o pu'a su'oe li.

"It is his wife who owns it." 1 Cor 7:4

Lì á né ò p̄uā' · s̄ú'v·lī.

3i be FOC 3a wife + own·3i

Bōo · lá kà m̄ nyētá·?

"What is that that I can see?"

what + that and 1s see.IPF·CQ

With *kà*, the foregrounded element may be extracted from a subordinate clause or prepositional phrase; direct objects leave a null-anaphora gap:

Li ane ya taaba bane pu'ʊsid Wina'am ka li nar ka ya kad saria.

Lì à né yà tāabā bānì · p̄u'ʊsīd Wínà'am kà l̄ nár kà yà kád sàríyà.

3i be FOC 2p fellow DEMp·NZ greet.IPF God and 3i must and 2p drive law

"It is your fellow-worshippers of God whom you must judge." 1 Cor 5:12

12.4 Preposing and dislocation

Preposed clause elements precede *kà*-catenations with their own tense marking. The effect is *foregrounding*; it is compatible with both *nē'* and *n*-focus:

Mid ka sɔ' digil ye beog ka o di. "Let nobody keep it to eat tomorrow."

Mìt kà sɔ' dīgīl yē béog kà ò dí. Ex 16:19

beware and IDFa lay that tomorrow and 3a eat

Bī'əl bí'əl kà kōlīg pē'el nē.

Proverb: "Little by little, a river is full."

little little and river fill FOC

Dinzug ka mam Paul n be sarega ni Yesu Kiristo zug yanam buudbane ka' Jew dim la yela.

Dìn-zúg kà mām Paul n bé sārúgá nì Yesu Kiristo zúg

therefore and 1s Paul + exist prison at Jesus Christ on

yānám būud-bànì· ká' Jew díím lā yélà.

2p tribe-DEMP·NZ NG.be Jew Øp the about

"Thus I, Paul, am in prison for Jesus Christ because of you gentiles." Eph 3:1 B2

Objects containing interrogative pronouns are often preposed, with resumptive pronouns needed if they are extracted from prepositional phrases.

Bɔ ka ti na niŋɛ?

"What are we going to do?" Acts 21:22

Bó kà tì ná niŋè·?

what and 1p IR do·CQ

Nū'-bíbusá ·àlá kà fù nyētá·?

"How many fingers can you see?" S

finger.PL how.many and 2s see.IPF·CQ

Niŋgbɪŋ bɔ buudi ka ba na ti mɔra? "What kind of body will they have?"

Nìn-gbīŋ-bó-būudí kà bà ná tī mōrá·? 1 Cor 15:35

body-what-sort and 3p IR next have·CQ

Ka anɔ'ɔnam ka Wina'am sɔnf da pɛlig nɛ ba yɔma piisnaasi la?

Kà ànô'ɔn-nàm kà Wínà'am súnf dá pèlìg né bà yùmà pīs nāasí lá·?

and who-PL and God heart TNS whiten with 3p year.PL forty the·CQ

"And who was God angry with for forty years?" Heb 3:17

Preposing is required for *bō* in the meaning "why?": *Bó kà fù kúmmà·?*
"Why are you crying?"

Predicative complements are not preposed:

Mam a bo?

"What am I?" G1 p4

Mām án bó·?

1s be what·CQ

VP adjuncts are often preposed:

Ñwāḍisá ·àtán' kà fò ná lēb nā.

"You're to come back in three months."

month.PL three and 2s IR return hither

Preposing has no foregrounding sense within relative clauses, or when absolute clauses are preposed so that constituent order parallels event order:

Mán ñwè' dāy lā zúg kà pōlīs gbán'a·m.

1s.NZ hit man the on and police seize·1s

"The police arrested me because I hit the man." Spratt

When dislocation of "heavy" complements to clause-initial position occurs without *kà*, a resumptive pronoun must appear:

Wilkan be m ni ka pu wan na, m Ba' nwaadi li n basid.

Wìl-kànì· bèè ·m ní kà pū wénnā·, m Bā' ñwá'adī·lí n básìd.

branch-DEM·NZ exist 1s at and NG fruit.IPF·NG 1s father cut.IPF·3i + reject.IPF

"A branch in me which does not bear fruit, my father cuts out." Jn 15:2 B2

Right-dislocation is most easily recognisable when constituents follow VP-final particles. Pronouns cannot be dislocated. Manner adjuncts are intensified by dislocation, while with objects the sense is contrary to expectation:

M pû'us yā bédvḡō.

"Thank you very much."

Ò dà' yā múj.

"She's bought rice." (Of all things!)

vs Ò dà' nē múj.

"She's bought rice." (What did she buy?)

Dislocation is not involved when catenations follow *yā*:

Fv keya ka Ammon dim kv o.

"You have made the Ammonites kill him."

Fv kè yá kà Ammon dív kúo·.

2 Sm 12:9

2s let m/c and Ammon Øp kill·3a

12.5 Presentation

Presentational constructions introduce new entities into discourse using indefinite NPs, which here have *specific* reference. Dependent indefinite pronouns or quantifiers may be used. New entities may be subjects of location verbs, or objects of verbs of finding etc, often with a following *n*-catenation or adnominal *kà*-catenation:

Dau da be mori o po'a yimmir. "There was a man who had one wife."
 Dā̀u dá b̀è · mṓrí ·ò p̀uà'-ȳimmír. G2 p26
 man TNS exist + have 3a wife-single

Dapa atan' n da be. "There were once three men." G2 p16
 Dā̀pá ·àtán' n dá b̀è.
 man.PL three + TNS exist

Ka dau daa zin'i Lystra ni ka pu tun'e kenna.
 Kà dā̀u dāa zín'i Lystra ní kà p̄ tūn'ə · kēnná̄.
 and man TNS sit Lystra at and NG be.able + go.IPF·NG
 "There was a man in Lystra who could not walk." Acts 14:8 B2

Pu'a sɔ' da be mɔr o bipuŋ ka kikirig dɔl o.
 P̀uà'-s̄ɔ' dá b̀è · mór ò bī-p̄uŋ kà k̄ik̄ir̄ig d̄olló̄.
 woman-IDFa TNS exist + have 3a girl and fairy follow·3a
 "There was a woman whose daughter was oppressed by a devil." Mk 7:25

Anina ka o nyɛ dau ka o yu'ɔr buon Aneas.
 Àníná kà ò nȳɛ dā̀u kà ò ȳ'ɔr b̄uən Aneas.
 there and 3a see man and 3a name call.IPF Aeneas
 "There he found a man whose name was Aeneas." Acts 9:33

13 Formulae

Greetings may take the form of enquiries after health:

Gbís wēlá·?	"How did you sleep?"
or Dúe wēlá·?	"How did you get up?" (first morning greetings)
Nīntāŋ án wēlá·?	"How is the day/afternoon?"
Yú'uy án wēlá·?	"How is the evening?"
Fò yī-dímà·?	"... your household?"
Nìn-gbīná·?	"... body?" (i.e. "How are you?")
Pṣā' nē bíisè·?	"... wife and children?"

and so on, often at great length. Replies:

Àláafù bé.	"There is health." (Also used as a greeting.)
Àláafù béo·.	... for him/her.
Àláafù béε·bá.	... for them.

Other greetings are blessings of the pattern *Báríkà né fù/yà ...* "Blessing with your ..." with the introductory words usually ellipted. The reply to all these is *Náa*.

Kēn kēn.	"Welcome!"
Nē zāam zāam.	"Good evening."
Tūmā! or Tūmā tūmā!	"(Blessing on) your work!"; the commonest daytime greeting.
Nē sónsigā.	"(Blessing) on your conversation"; to a group talking, or to a person sitting quietly alone (as conversing with his or her own <i>wīn_n'</i> .)
Né fù būrīyá-sùŋ.	"Merry Christmas."
Né fù yòum-pāalíg.	"Happy New Year."

Others are promises or commands, replied to with *Tò* "OK", or as appropriate:

Bēogū · lā.	"See you tomorrow!" ("That's tomorrow.")
Àtìní dāarì · lā.	"See you on Monday."
Gbìsìm sùŋā.	"Sleep well."
Kpèlumī· sóm.	"Remain well"; "Goodbye", to those remaining.
Pò'usìm yín.	"Greet (those) at home"; "Goodbye", to leaver. Reply <i>Tò</i> , or <i>Bà nà wōm</i> "They will hear."

Prayers, requiring the reply **Àmí** "Amen":

Wīn ná lēbū·f nē láafiyà.	"Safe journey!" ("God will return you healthy.")
Wīn ná tā'así·f.	"Safe journey!" ("God will help you travel.")
Wīn ná sūñī·f.	"God will help you"; usually expresses thanks

Other formulae:

M̄ pū'us yā [béduḡū].	"Thank you [very much]." Reply Tò , or Pù'usòḡ kā'e . "No thanks [needed]."
Gáafàrà.	"Sorry"; in apology, or just sympathy.
Kābīr kāburí!	Asking admission to a dwelling. (Knocking is for robbers trying to find out if anyone is in.)
Dìm sūḡurú.	"Forgive me."
M̄ bēlīm nē.	"I beg you."
X lābāar án wēlá·?	"What is the news of X?" A common initial reply is Dīub má'aa . "Only food." i.e. "good."
M̄ mōr kū'əm náa·?	"Shall I bring water?" Traditional first words to guest. "No, thank you" is Kù'əm á súm . ("Water is good.")
Wīn yél sídà.	"Bless you!" Literally "God speaks truth": ("If you sneeze, it means someone elsewhere is praising you." W)
Fù wóm Kūsáalèè·?	"Do you understand Kusaal?"
Ēēñ, m̄ wóm.	"Yes, I do."

14 TextsLegion

Mk 5:1-15

Ka Yesu ne o nya'andolib kena paae Gerasene tejin, Galile mu'ar nya'an. Ka Yesu yi anrɔɔn la, ka dau one ka kikiris dol o yi yaadin naa tu'us o. Dau kana daa be ne yaadin la, hali ka so' kae na nyaɔi loo o ne banaa. Ba da eenti nokne bana loo o noba ne o nu'us. Ka o kens nu'us bana la ka kensi kens noba bana la bas. So' da kae paɔi na nyaɔ oo. Nintaɔ ne yu'ɔɔ wɔsa o gɔɔndne yaadin ne zuoya la ni ka mɔr kuga nwaad o meɔ ka maan tɔkpiidɔg.

On da nye Yesu ka o be lalli la, ka o zɔɔ keɔ igin o tuon ka tans ye, "Yesu, Wina'am one ka' tiraan la Biiga, bo be man ne fu sɔɔɔɔne? Wina'am su'um zug, m belimne, da namisi ma." Bɔzugo Yesu pɔn yel o ye, "Kikiriga yim dau kana san'an na." Ne'eɔa ke ka o yeli ala.

Ka Yesu bu'os o ye, "Fu yu'ɔɔe?"

Ka dau la lebis ye, "M yu'ɔɔri buon Babiga, bɔzugo, ti galis ne." Ka o bellim Yesu ne nimmua ye o da kad kikiris la yis teɔ kan la nii.

Kukurnam bedegɔ da be zuor la babaa dit ka ba kal an wɔɔ tusa ayi'. Ka kikiris la bellim o ye, "Kel ka ti keɔ kpen' kukurnam la ni." Ka o siak ka kikiris la yi dau la ni kpen' kukurnamin la. Ka ba wɔsa zɔɔ sig beuɔin ka ku'om dii ba.

Dap bane da gur kukurnam la da zɔɔ keɔ tempuugin ne temkpemisin tu'as line maal la wɔsa. Ka nidib yii keɔ ye ba gɔs line maal. Ban da paae Yesu san'an la, ba nye ka dau kane ka kikiris daa dol o la zin' anina, ka ye fuud ka o ya'am tiaki an su'um. Ka dabiem kpen' ba.

Kà Yesu né ò ñyā'an-dóllìb kē nā · pāa Gerasene tējī·n, Galile mō'ar ñyà'aɔ.

and Jesus with 3a disciple.PL come hither + reach Gerasene land·at Galilee lake east

"Jesus and his disciples came to the land of the Gerasenes, east of Lake Galilee."

Kà Yesu yī ánròɔɔ·n lā, kà dāy ɔ̀nì· kà kìkìrìs dóllo· · yī yáadī·n nāa · tū'usó·.

and Jesus exit boat·at the and man DEMa·NZ and fairy.PL follow·3a + exit grave.PL·at hither + meet·3a

"After Jesus left the boat, a man who was afflicted by demons came from the tombs to meet him."

Dày-kàɔā dāa bé nē yáadī·n lā, hālì kà sō' kā'e · ná ñyāɔī · lóo· nē bá'anāa·.

man-DEM TNS exist FOC grave.PL·at the even and IDFa NG.exist + IR prevail + tie·3a with fetter.PL·NG

"That man had been among the tombs, until nobody was able to shackle him."

Kà ò bé̀lìm Yesu nē nīn-múa yé ò dā kád k̀k̀irīs lā · yīs tēṅ-kàn lā ní·.

and 3a beg Jesus with earnestness that 3a NG.IMP drive fairy.PL the + expel land-DEM the at·NG

"And he begged Jesus earnestly not to drive the demons out of that country."

K̀k̀k̀r-nám bédugū dá bè zūer lā bábàa · d̀it kà bà kāl án wōw tūsá àyí'.

pig-PL much TNS exist hill the beside + eat.IPF and 3p number be like thousand.PL two

"There were many pigs grazing beside the hill, about two thousand in number."

Kà k̀k̀irīs lā bé̀lmò· yē, "K̀èl kà t̀i kēṅ · kpén' k̀k̀k̀r-nám lā ní."

and fairy.PL the beg-3a that let.IMP and 1p go + enter pig-PL the at

"And the demons begged him: 'Let us go into the pigs.'"

Kà ò s̀ják kà k̀k̀irīs lā yī dāw lā ní · kpén' k̀k̀k̀r-námī·n lā.

and 3a agree and fairy.PL the exit man the at + enter pig-PL·at the

"He agreed for the demons to leave the man and enter the pigs."

Kà bà wōsā zóo · s̀ig bēoṅí·n kà k̀ù'əm dí·bā.

and 3p all run + descend lake·at and water eat·3p

"And they all ran down into the lake and were drowned."

Dàp-bànì· dà gūr k̀k̀k̀r-nám lā dá zòo · kēṅ tēṅ-pūogú·n nē tēṅ-kpēmī·n

man-DEMP·NZ TNS watch pig-PL the TNS run + go town·at with village.PL·at

· t̀w'as lí·nì· màal lā wōsā.

+ talk DEMi·NZ make the all

"The men who had been herding the pigs ran to the town and villages to talk about everything that had happened."

Kà nīdīb yīi · kēṅ yé bà gōs lí·nì· màal.

and person.PL exit + go that 3p look DEMi·NZ make

"And people came out to see what had happened."

Bán dà pāe Yesu s̀a'an lā, bà nyé kà dāw-kànì· kà k̀k̀irīs dāa d̀olló· lā zín'i àní·nā,

3p.NZ TNS reach Jesus among the 3p see and man-DEM·NZ and fairy.PL TNS follow·3a the be.sitting there

kà yé fūud, kà ò yā'am t̀jákì · àn s̀u'm. Kà dàbīəm kpén'ε·bā.

and don cloth.PL and 3a sense change + be goodness and fear enter·3p

"When they came to where Jesus was, they saw the man who had been afflicted by demons sitting there, clothed, and with his mind put right, and they were afraid."

Three Brigands

G2 p16 (cf Hamel 1991)

Dapa atan' n da be. Ba da ane dap kanda su'unga. Ka daar yinni ka ba la'asi zin'ini gban'e ye ba duom ia budaalim la'ad n ginni kuum nidib ma'aa ka da lem tum si'ela. Ba sid due ia su'us ne zan'ana ne tiraad ne piima ne lu'ad, ne kpana ne mali su'unga n pin'ili ginni ied nidib ye ba ya'a nye so' ban ku.

Ba giligi ala ne nwadisa atan' ne dabisa atan' ba po nye nidii [sic] na kuu. Ka kpelim mor ken ne ken ne ken. Daba anu daar ba nye ne lallisa ka si'el zie sabili wuu nidne, ka ba kpeem la ye ba kem kuu o, ye o sob ya'a pun ton'e ka morne lauksia'a wusa ba na nyangi kuu o. Ka onga gingid kpe, ka onga gingid kpe, ba ti keng paae nye ka li ka'a nida, ka ane boto ka ligidi pe'el ma'aa ma'aa ma. Ka ba ye, Ato, ka nannanna nwa, ti ye ti ning ligidi nwa walla? Ka ba ye, ba na pudigne. Amaa ba ye li nar ka ba yis ligidi la n keng da'a daam na nu yiiga ka nyaan pudig ligidi la. Ka yis ligidi la bi'ela ye biig la kem da' yoor na ka ba nu.

Biig la ken la o ten'esidne on na nngig [sic] si'em ku bane kpelim anniga [sic] la ka vaae ligidi la wusa wusa n su'e, o yeli o meng ye, o na da' ne daam ka bo tikuudim n los daamin la n paae tii ba ka ba nuu kpi ka o su'e ligidi la wusa. Ka sid da' daam la ka bo tikuudim n los.

Ziisige, ka baba yi'i la kpellim la, me gban'e ne ye ba ku biig la keng daam la da'ab la ka me su'e ligidi la. Biig la n mor daam la paa na la, ka onga kiak [sic] kpe, ka on kiak [sic] kpe, n kia o ku ka yu'un zang daam la nu wan wan, li pu yuuge, ka ba wusa wusa me kpelim kpi zin'i kan la noo ka ba so'o so' pu nyangi paam la'af la baa yinni mori kule ba yaane.

Din ka Kusaas ye fu ya'a ten'es bee tumbe'ed ye fu tisi fu tiraan, fu maane fu meng ya'as la.

Dāpá ·àtán' n dá bè. Bà dà à nē dáp-kāndā s'úḡā.

man.PL three + TNS exist 3p TNS be FOC man-tough.PL well

"There were once three men. They were really tough men."

Kà dāar yīnní kà bà lá'asì · zín'inì · gbāñ'e yé bà dūəm · j̄ā búdàalim lá'ad

and day one and 3p gather + sit + grab that 3p rise.IMP + seek courage goods.PL

n gīnnī · k̄w nīdīb má'aa kà dā lém tùm sī'əlā.

+ roam.IPF + kill person.PL only and NG.IMP again work IDFi-NG

"One day they sat down to meet and decided to go and find some weaponry and go round looking to kill people so as never to have to work again."

Bà s̀̀d̀ d̀̀e · j̄ā s̄̀'ʊs nē zán'anà nē tí-dāad nē p̄imá nē l̄'ad nē kpānā
 3p truly rise + seek knife.PL with bludgeon.PL with bow.PL with arrow.PL with quiver.PL with spear.PL
 nē málì s̄'ŋā n p̄in'ilī · ḡinnī · īəd n̄dīb yé bà yá' n̄yē s̄' bān k̄.

with gun.PL well + begin + wander.IPF + seek.IPF person.PL that 3p if find IDFa 3p kill

"So indeed they went and sought lots of swords, bludgeons, bows, arrows, quivers, spears and guns and began looking round for people to find someone they could kill."

Bà ḡil̄ḡí ·àlá nē n̄wād̄sá ·àtán' nē dáb̄sà ·àtán'. Bà p̄ n̄yē n̄dī · ná k̄.

3p go.round thus with month.PL three with day.PL three 3p NG find person + IR kill·NG

Kà kp̄él̄m m̄ōr k̄ēn nē k̄ēn nē k̄ēn.

and remain have going with going with going

"They went round like this for three months and three days and didn't find a person to kill. They carried on walking and walking and walking."

Dābá ànū dāar bà n̄yē nē lāl̄l̄í sà kà s̄'əl z̄í'e s̄āb̄l̄l̄ · w̄ō n̄d nē, kà bà kp̄ēn̄m lā
 day.PL five day 3p see with far hence and IDFi stand black + like person like and 3p elder the
 yé bà k̄ém · k̄ó·, yé ò s̄ōb yá' p̄òn t̄ún'e kà m̄ōr nē l̄áuk-s̄'a w̄ōsā,

that 3p go.IMP + kill·3a that 3a Øa if already be.able and have FOC item-IDF all

bà nà n̄yāŋī · k̄ó·.

3p IR prevail + kill·3a

"On the fifth day they saw something standing in the distance, black like a human being, and the eldest of them said that they should go and kill him; even if he was capable and fully equipped, they would be able to kill him."

Kà òŋā ḡīŋīd̄ kp̄ē, kà òŋā ḡīŋīd̄ kp̄ē, bà t̄i k̄ēŋ · p̄ā ·

and DEMa intercept.IPF there and DEMa intercept.IPF there 3p next go + reach +

n̄yē kà l̄i k̄ā' n̄idá·, kà á nē b̄ótú kà l̄īḡd̄ī p̄ē'el mà'aa má'aa má.

see and 3i NG.be person·NG and be FOC sack and money fill only only only

"And this one blocked this way, and that one blocked that way, but once they got there they saw that it wasn't a person but nothing but a bag full of money."

Kà bà yē, Àtò, kà nānná-nā n̄wá, t̄i yé t̄i n̄īŋ l̄īḡd̄ī n̄wá w̄ālá·?

and 3p say so.then and now this 1p that 1p do money this how·CQ

"They said: 'Well, now! What are we going to do with this money?'"

Kà bà yē, bà nà p̄ōd̄īg nē. Àmáa bà yé l̄i nár kà bà yīs l̄īḡd̄ī lā n k̄ēŋ · dá'

and 3p say 3p IR share FOC but 3p that 3i must and 3p extract money the + go + buy

dāam · ná nū ȳīgá kà n̄yāan p̄ōd̄īg l̄īḡd̄ī lā.

beer + IR drink firstly and next share money the

"And they said they'd share it. But first they said they should take some money out to buy beer to drink, and then share out the money."

Kà yīs līgɔ̄dī lā bī'əlá yē biig lā kém · dá' yōur ná kà bà nū.

and extract money the little that child the go.IMP + buy jug hither and 3p drink

"And they took out a little of the money so the youngest could go and buy a jug so they could drink."

Biig lá· kēn lā, ò tèn'esìd nē ón nà nīg sī'əm · kō bánì· kpèlìm àní nā lā, kà vée

child the-NZ go.IPF the 3a think.IPF FOC 3a.NZ IR do how + kill DEMp-NZ remain there the and gather

līgɔ̄dī lā wōsā wōsā n sū'e, ò yèlí ·ò mēŋ yē, ò nà dā' nē dāam, kà bó tì-kūvdím

money the all all + own 3a say 3a self that 3a IR buy FOC beer and seek medicine-killing

n lós dāamí·n lā n pāa · tí·bá kà bà nūu · kpí kà ò sū'e līgɔ̄dī lā wōsā.

+ immerse beer-at the + reach + give-3p and 3p drink + die and 3a own money the all

"As the youngest was travelling, he was thinking how he might kill those who stayed in that place and take absolutely all of the money as his own; he said to himself that he would buy the beer, and look for a poison to put into the beer and go and give it to them to drink and die so he'd possess all of the money."

Kà síd dà' dāam lā, kà bó tì-kūvdím n lós.

and truly buy beer the and seek medicine-killing + immerse

"And indeed he bought the beer and sought poison to put in it."

Zī'isígē·, kà bà bàyí' lá· kpèlìm lā mé gbān'e nē yé bà kō

NG.know-NG and 3p two the-NZ remain the also grab FOC that 3p kill

biig lá· kēŋ dāam lā dā'ab lā, kà mé sū'e līgɔ̄dī lā.

child the-NZ go beer the buying the and also own money the

"Unbeknownst, the two who had stayed behind had also decided to kill the youth who had gone to buy the beer and themselves keep the money."

Biig lá·n mōr dāam lā · pāa nā lā, kà òŋā kịá kpē, kà ɔn kịá kpē,

child the-NZ have beer the + reach hither the and DEMa cut here and 3a cut here

n kío· · kō, kà yū'ɔn záj dāam lā · nū wán wán, lì pō yúugē·,

+ cut-3a + kill and then take beer the + drink glug glug 3i NG delay-NG

kà bà wōsā wōsā mé kpélìm kpì zìn-kàn lā noco kà bà sō' sō'

and 3p all all also immediately die place-DEM the exactly and 3p IDFa IDFa

pō nyāŋī · pāam lā'af lā bāa yīnní · mōrī · kúlí ·bà yāa·nē·.

NG prevail + receive cowry the not.one + have + go.home 3p house.PL.at-NG

"When the youth arrived back with the beer, this one cut him here and that one cut him there, cutting him to death, and they then picked up the beer and drank it in gulps; before long both of them died immediately in the exact same place, and none of them was able to take even a single coin home."

Dìn kà Kūsâas yé fò yá' tēn'es bēe túm bē'ed yé fò tísì ·fò tīrâan,

3i and Kusaasi.PL that 2s if think or act bad that 2s give 2s peer

fò mâanní ·fò mēŋ yâ'as lā.

2s make.IPF 2s self again the

"That's why the Kusaasi say: if you think or do evil toward your neighbour, you're doing it to yourself in return."

Proverbs

G2 pp38ff

Ku'om kaadi lebisne m geegun.

Kù'əm káadì · lébìs né m̄ gēogō·n.

water bail.IPF + return FOC 1s between.legs-at

"Water is bailed and returns between my legs."

(Charity begins at home.)

Ku'om zotne bian'ar zug.

Kù'əm zót nē bĭāñ'ar zúg.

water run.IPF FOC riverbed on

"Water runs on mud."

(You scratch my back ...)

Kuga la'asidne zuorin.

Kūgá là'asìd nē zūērī·n.

stone.PL gather.IPF FOC hill-at

"Stones build up on a hill."

(The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.)

Awiak seung zi' senne.

À wĭāk sēoŋg zī' sínnē·.

PZ hatch rainy.season NG.know hawk.PL·NG

"Hatched-in-the-rains doesn't know hawks."

(Fool's paradise.)

Po nye saa kuubo, ka nye saa niib.

Pō ñyē sāa kúubō·, kà ñyē sāa nīib.

NG see rain threat·NG and see rain raining

"Didn't see the rain coming, did see the rain."

(Wise after the event.)

Adi'e buud po zin'i na'ayiree.

À dī'e būud pō zín'i ná'-yīrē·.

PZ receive innocence NG sit chief-house·NG

"Declared-innocent doesn't loiter in the court."

(Quit while you're ahead.)

Moodi pilig ka yu'ada be.

Mōodī · pílig kà yū'adā bé.

grass.PL + strip.off and rafter.PL exist

"The thatch is off but the rafters remain."

(Where there's life there's hope.)

Baas kae ka nwamis di'e pōog.

Bāas ká'e· kà nŵāamīs dī'e pōog.

dog.PL NG.exist·NG and monkey.PL get farm

"No dogs, so monkeys got the farm." Naden

(When the cat's away ...)

Ba pu nokid na'ambinni lobigid naafo.

Bà p̄ nōkíd nā'-bín̄nì · lōb̄gíd náaf̄ō.

3p NG take.IPF cow-dung + throw.at.IPF cow-NG

"They don't throw dung at a cow." (Coals to Newcastle.)

Kpeem ane te'eg, o tigidne balaya.

Kp̄ēnm̄ á nē tē'eg, ò t̄ḡid nē bálàyà.

elder be FOC baobab 3a sate.IPF FOC stick.PL

"An elder is a baobab - no shortage of sticks." (Uneasy lies the head ...)

Zu'om ya'a ye o na lobug, bangim ka o none kugir.

Zū'əm yá' yé ò nà lōb̄g, bàṅìm kà ò nò nē kūgūr.

blind.person if that 3a IR throw.at realise.IMP and 3a stand.on FOC stone

"If a blind man says he'll stone you, know that he's got a stone under his foot."

Balerigu zi' ye o a balerigu, ka tadim mi' ye o [a] tadim.

Bāl̄ēruḡō · zī' yé ò àn bāl̄ēruḡō, kà tādīm mī' yé ò àn tādīm.

ugly + NG.know that 3a be ugly-NG and weak know that 3a be weak

"The ugly man doesn't think he's ugly, but the weakling knows he's weak."

Fu ya'a bood tampiing siind, fu po lem zot lieng daug nyoogo.

Fù yá' bōod támp̄iing s̄iind, fù p̄ lém zòt líəṅ d̄aug n̄yōōḡō.

2s if want rock honey 2s NG again run.IPF axe wood sympathy-NG

"If you want honey out of a stone, you don't feel sorry for the axeshaft."

Buribig kunni o ba' yirne nobkoog daar.

Bù-d̄ib̄iḡ kún̄nì ò bā' yír nē nōb-kōōg d̄aar.

kid go.home.IPF 3a father house FOC leg-breaking day

"The kid goat goes back to his father's house on the day he breaks his leg."

Bungdaug po kaasidi o tiraan tengine.

Bùṅ-d̄aug p̄ k̄aasídì ò t̄r̄aan t̄éṅī-né.

donkey-male NG cry.out.IPF 3a peer land-at-NG

"The jackass doesn't bray in his neighbour's territory."

Sāan-súṅ á nē yī-d̄aan áns̄ìb.

stranger-good be FOC house-owner mother's.brother

"A good guest is a householder's uncle." K

(Entertaining a guest is an opportunity to celebrate.)

15 Vocabulary

Ordering ignores ' and the distinctions *n/n̄*, *e/ε/ē/ə*, *i/ι/ī*, *o/ο*, *u/υ/ū*; *η* follows *n*. *adj* *ideo* *pn* *pt* *q* stand for adjective, ideophone, pronoun, particle, quantifier. Unlabelled entries are nouns, listed as sg (if used), pl and cif (followed by a hyphen.) For nouns as adverbials and postpositions see §10.7.3. Adjectives are listed as sg only; for their flexion see §6.2. 2vbs are listed by pf. Regular ipfs/imps, regular deverbal nominals, and transparent compounds are not listed. See §9.3 for proper names, and §9.5.1 for number words with the prefixes *à-* *bà-* *ḥ-* (*à*)*bò-*.

Ar = Arabic, En = English, Ha = Hausa; k/o = kind of.

A

à *pn* (personaliser); always preceded by *à* are *dàalúᵋ*, *dàalí(m)s* *dàalúᵋ*- stork;
gâvᵋᵋ, *gâaᵋnd* *gâᵋn*- pied crow;
kōrā-dīem_{ma} -*dīem-nàm_a* mantis;
mús *mús-nàm_a* cat (Ha *mussa*)
à (before *nē*) see *àḥᵋya*
āāndīg_a *āāndīs* *āānd-* black plum,
Vitex doniana
āāndīr *āāndā* black plum fruit
àaᵋns 2vb tear
àbùlā *q* how many-fold?
àḥᵋya ger *àaᵋnlím* 1vb be something
àeᵋn 2vb get torn
àgólᵋ *àgōlā* upwards
àlā *pn* thus
àlā *q* so many; how many?
àlāafù health (in greetings); cf *lāafiyā*
àlópìr *àlópìyà* aeroplane (En)
àmáa *pt* but §11.1 (Ha from Ar)
àmēᵋjá really, truly
àmí *pt* amen (Ar *āmīn*)
àní(-nā´) *pn* there
àníᵋā promptly
àᵋn'ōn *pn* who?
àᵋnròᵋ, *àᵋnrùmà* *àᵋnròᵋ*- boat
āᵋns 2vb pluck leaves
āᵋnsᵋb_a *āᵋns-nám_a* *āᵋns-* mother's brother
āᵋnsᵋᵋ 2vb break at an angle

āᵋnsᵋᵋ_a *āᵋnsís* *āᵋnsᵋᵋ*- man's sister's child
àntù'a *àntù'ēs* *àntùà'-* lawsuit
àᵋnwá(-nā´) *pn* like this
ānzúrífà silver (Ha *azurfa*)
àràzàk_a *àràzà'as* *àràzà'-* (generally pl)
wealth, riches (Ar pl *arzāq*)
àràzàᵋnà heaven (Ar *al-jannah*)
àséε *pt* except for §10.7.4 (Ha *sai*)
àsīdā truly
àsùbá dawn (Ar *al-ṣabāḥ*)
àtèᵋuk_ᵋ, sea (Ha *teku*)
áyì *pt* no §11.2.4

B

bà *pn* they, their; *ba* them
bā´ *bā'-nám_a* *bā'-* father
bāa *bāas* *bà-* dog
bāa *pt* not even §12.2 (Ha *ba* "not be")
bā'a *bā'ab_a* *bà'a-* diviner; *bà'a-kòlᵋg_ᵋ*
diviner's bag
bā'a *bā'as* *bà'-* peg for hanging
bà'an_n *bà'anà* *bà'an-* (penal) stocks
bāaᵋnlìg_a *adj* narrow, slender
bāaᵋnlìg_a *adj* quiet; *bāaᵋnlím* quietly
bà'ar *bàdà/bà'a* *bà'-* idol
bābá beside
bàbᵋᵋgā´ *q* many
bákpàḗ week (Ha *bakwai* "seven")
bàlāar *bàlàyà* *bàlā-* stick, club

- bōsɪr bōsā bōs-** puff adder
bōtō sack
bū' 2vb beat
bɔ̀àk 2vb split
bù'ar bù'a bɔ̀a'- hole
bū'ar' bú'a bɔ̀a'- skin bottle
bùd ger **bōdɪg_a/bōdɔg_ɔ** 2vb sow seeds
bùdàalim manhood, courage
bùdɪm ger **bùdɪmís** 2vb get confused
bù'e 2vb pour out
bùèl 2vb call, summon
bùèr bɔ̀yèyà bɔ̀a'- grain store
bū'əs 2vb ask; ger **bū'əsɔg_ɔ** question
bùg 2vb get drunk (Ha *bugu*)
bōgud_a client of a **bā'a** diviner
bùgulim 2vb cast lots
bōgur bōgā bɔ̀g- abode of a **wīn_n'**;
wīn_n' from mother's kin as a **sīgr'**
bùgúm bɔ̀góm-/bùgúm- fire;
Bùgúm-tōŋr Fire Festival
bōgus_a' 1vb be soft
bōgusíg_a/bōgusír *adj* soft, weak;
bōgusígā' softly; **bōgusím** softness
bōk' 2vb weaken
bòk 2vb cast lots
bùl 2vb germinate, ooze
būlɪ būlā shoot, sprout
bùl 2vb astonish
bùlɔg_a bùlɪs bùl- well, pond
bùmbàrɪg_a bùmbàrɪs bùmbàr- ant
bōn_n' bōn-nám_a/bōnā bōn- thing;
bōn-gíŋ_a short chap (informal);
bōn-kónbɔg_ɔ -kónbɪd kónb- *cif sic*
 animal; **bōn-kúɔg_ɔ -kút** old man;
bōn-mór rich person
bùn 2vb reap, harvest
bōn-dâar *pn* which day?
bòŋ_a bòmɪs bòŋ- donkey
bōráa man (Toende word)
bùrɪkìn_a bùrɪkìn-nám_a bùrɪkìn- free,
 honourable person (Songhay)
- būrɪyá** Christmas (Twi)
bōtɪŋ_a bōtɪs bōtɪŋ- cup ("seed-planter")
bōvd innocence
būudī bùud- kind, sort, ethnic group
bōbɔg_a bōvs bɔ̀- goat; **bù-dìbɪg_a** male kid
- D
- dà** *pt* before two days ago §10.2
dā *pt* not (imp) §10.4
dàa *pt* day after tomorrow §10.2
dāa *pt* before yesterday §10.2
dà' 2vb buy
dà'a dà'as dà'- market
dà'abìr slave
dàalim masculinity
dàalím dàalímɪs male organs
dāam' dā- millet beer, "pito"; **dā-bín_n**
 beer residue; yeast
dàam 2vb disturb, trouble (Ha *dama*)
dāan_a dàan-nám_a dàan- owner of ...
dāar dābā dà- day, date
dāar two days ago/hence
dāa-sí'èrē perhaps
dàbīem fear
dàbīog_ɔ dàbīəd dàbɪà- coward
dàbɪsɪr dàbɪsà dàbɪs- 24-hour period
dā'e' 2vb push; blow (of wind)
dàgòbɪg_a left; B south
dāká dāká-nám_a dāká- box (Ha *adaka*)
dàkīg_a dàkīs dàkì- wife's sibling/sister's
 husband §9.4
dàkòŋr dàkònyà dàkòŋ- unmarried son
dàm *ipf* **dàmmìd_a** 2vb shake
dàmà'a liar; **dàmà'am/dàmà'ar** lie
dāmpūsāar/dànsàar staff, club
dàŋkòŋ_ɔ measles
dàpāal_a' young man, son
dārúk_ɔ k/o large pot
dà-sāŋ_a -sāans/-sām_{ma} -sàŋ- young man
dàtāa dàtāas dàtā- enemy
dàtɪŋ_ɔ right-hand; B north

- dāu dāp_a dāu-/dāp- man
 dàv_o dàad dà- piece of wood, log;
 dà-kīəd_a wood-cutter; dà-kpī'əd_a
 carpenter; dà-pūudīr -pūudā cross B
 dāv_o *adj* male
 dāvàl_a hot humid season before rains
 dāvān_n' dāvānā dāvān- pigeon
 dāvāam_{ma} dāvāam-nām_a dāvāam-
 husband's parent §9.4
 dāvūug_o' dāvūud' dāvū- rat
 dēbır dēbà mat, pallet, bed
 dēeg_a dēes dē- warthog
 dēēη_a dēēns/dēēmīs/dēēnā dēēη- *q* first
 dēl_a' ger dēllúg_o/dēllím 1vb (person) lean
 on something
 dēlím 2vb (person) begin to lean
 dēη_a dēmıs dēη- accidental bruise; defect
 dēη 2vb go/do first
 dēηím *pt* beforehand §10.5
 dī pn = lì
 dī ipf dīt_a imp dīm_a 2vb eat, get; ger
 dīb_o food; Ò dī pūā'. He's married a
 wife. Ò dī nyán. She's ashamed.
 dīā' 2vb get dirty
 dīā'ad' dirt
 dī'e' 2vb receive, get
 dī'əm 2vb play; ger dī'əmà festival
 dīəm_{ma} dīəm-nām_a dīəm- wife's parent
 §9.4
 dī'əs' 2vb receive (many things)
 dīg_{ya}' ger dīk_a'/dīgır' 1vb lie down
 dīgıl' 2vb lay down
 dīgın 2vb lie down
 dīgır dīgà dīg- dwarf
 dīgıúg_o bed; (pl) lair
 dīs 2vb feed; dīs_a glutton
 dīsúη_o dīsímà/dīsıs dīsúη- spoon
 dīm_a dīn_n pn (dummy head)
 dín dīn pn = lín līn
 dīndēog_o' dīndēed' dīndē- chameleon
 dīndīs_a glutton
 dītúη_o right-hand
 dī-zōrvog_o' -zōrá -zōr- crumb
 dōl_a' ger dōllím 1vb go/come with
 dōlíg' 2vb make accompany, send with
 dōlıs' 2vb investigate, trace
 dōñlíg' 2vb stretch oneself
 dōñ'os 2vb water plants
 dōog_o dōod/dòt dō- house, hut; clan;
 dōog bīig_a housecat
 dōōng_o dōōnd dōñ- dawadawa fruit
 dū ipf dūt_a' imp dùm_a 2vb go up
 dūà' 2vb bear/beget; dū'ad_a relative
 dū'al 2vb make interest (of a loan)
 dū'am birth
 dūañ dōōns dōñ- dawadawa,
Parkia clappertoniana
 dū'atà doctor (En)
 dūe' 2vb raise, rise
 dūēr' dūāyá dūā- stick
 dū'əs' 2vb lift up, honour
 dūg 2vb cook
 dūk_o' dūgūd' dūg- cooking pot;
 dūgūb dūt cooking pots
 dùm 2vb bite
 dūm_n dūmā dùm- knee
 dōndūug_o dōndūud dōndū- cobra
 dūnyā dūnyá- world (Ar *dunyā*)
 dūnná this year
 dūη_a dūmıs dūη- mosquito
 dūr_a 1vb be many
 dū'un' 2vb pass water
 dū'uním dū'un- urine
 dūōsír step

E

ēēn *pt* yes §11.2.4
 ēēn (tí) *pt* habitually §10.3
 ēēnb' 2vb lay a foundation
 ēēnbír foundation
 ènbıs 2vb scratch
 ènd 2vb block up, plug up
 èndıg 2vb unblock, unplug
 ènrıg' 2vb shift along on buttocks

F

f_o *pn* you sg
 fāān *q* every
 fāēn' 2vb save; fāāngíd_a saviour, fāāngír
 salvation (from Toende)
 fān 2vb grab, rob
 fáss *ideo* for p_lèlìg_a white
 fēeg' 2vb get old, cold (of food)
 fēndıg' 2vb turn round
 fēn'og_o' fēn'ed' fēn'- ulcer
 fiəb 2vb beat
 fi'ig 2vb cut off
 fiin *q* a little (liquid)
 fitlá lamp (Ha *fitila*); B3 *fitir* pl *fita*
 fōos' 2vb puff (wind)
 fù *pn* you, your sg
 fùe 2vb draw out
 fūfūm_n fūfūmā fūfūm- envy; stye
 fún *pn* you sg + n;
 fūn lf fúnè you sg (free)
 fūug_o' fūud'/fūt' fū- clothing; cloth

G

gād ipf gāt_a 2vb pass, surpass
 gāfàrà sorry! (Ha *gafara*, from Ar)
 gā'al 2vb button up
 gā'am 2vb grind teeth
 gāān' gāāns' gān- jackalberry,
Diospyros mespilliformis
 gās 2vb pass by

gādū/gādūg_o' gādū-nām_a/gāt' gādū-/gād-
 bed (Ha *gado*)
 gālım 2vb joke
 gālıs 2vb exceed, get to be too much
 gānr' gānyá gānr- jackalberry fruit
 gāŋ 2vb step over
 gāŋ' 2vb choose
 gbān'e' 2vb catch, grab; decide, plan
 gbānyà'a idle person; gbānyà'am laziness
 gbāuŋ_o' gbāná gbān-/gbāuŋ- animal skin;
 book (W tp L); gbāuŋ-mī'id_a' scribe
 gbēēnm gbēn- sleep
 gbè'og_o gbè'ed/gbèdà gbè'- forehead;
 lakeshore
 gbēr' gbēyá gbēr- thigh
 gbīgīm_n gbīgımā gbìgim- lion
 gbìn_n gbìnà gbìn- buttock; foot (of hill);
 meaning; below; gbìn-vònr anus
 gbıs 2vb sleep
 gēel' 2vb place between legs (tp H)
 gēēnm' ger gēēnmıs 2vb go/send mad
 gēēn_a gēēnmıs madman
 gélı gēlá gēl- egg
 gēn 2vb get tired
 gēn' 2vb get angry
 gēog_o place between legs (tp A)
 gīgıım 2vb become dumb
 giinlım shortness (cf Mampruli *gyiia*
 "short")
 gik_a gıgıs gıg- dumb person
 gılıg' ipf gın_{na}' 2vb go around
 gım_{ma}' 1vb be short
 giŋ 2vb scrimp
 giŋ' 2vb surround, intercept, obstruct
 giŋ_a *adj* short; giŋā shortly
 gōdıg' 2vb look up
 gō'e_{ya}' W gōl_a' K 1vb be looking up
 gòn 2vb hunt; ipf gòònd_a wander,
 ger gòòndım
 gò'cn 2vb look up
 gōr_a' D 1vb be looking up

gōs ipf gōsɪd_a'/gōt_a' imp gò(sɪ)m_a
 ger gósɪg_a 2vb look; gōt_a' seer
 gū' 2vb guard, protect
 gùl 2vb hang; gùl_{1a} 1vb hang
 gùllimm lf gùllimnè *pt* only §12.2
 gùm_n gùmà kapok fruit; thread W
 gūmpōzēr' gūmpōzēyá gūmpōzér- duck
 gùñ'a gùñ'os gùñ'- thorn; acacia;
 gùñ'-sābūlīg_a *Acacia hockii*
 gùṅ_a gùmɪs gùṅ- kapok tree,
Ceiba pentandra
 gùṅgūm_n kapok material
 gūr_a' ger gūrím 1vb guard, watch for
 gū'ul' 2vb put on guard
 gù'ulim 2vb become half-ripe
 gùur gùyà gù- upland; riverbank
 gūur gūyā gù- ridge of back
 gū'us' 2vb take care, watch out
 gū'us half-ripe fruits

H

hālí *pt* even, until §10.7.4 (Berber)

I

iā 2vb seek
 iāñ'as' 2vb leap
 iāñk' ipf iāñ'ad_a' 2vb leap, fly
 īg_{ya}' ger īk_a'/īgur' 1vb kneel
 īgul' 2vb make kneel
 īgun 2vb kneel down
 ílɪ ílálá íl- horn
 īsɪr īsā is- scar
 isɪg 2vb get up early

K

kà *pt* and, that §11.1
 kā 2vb bail water
 kā' (before complements) see kā'ę
 kāab' 2vb offer, invite
 kāal' 2vb count
 kāas' 2vb cry out, weep; crow (cock)

kà'asìg 1vb not exist (clause-final only)
 kābɪg' 2vb ladle out
 kābɪr' ger kābūrí 2vb call for admission
 kàd 2vb drive away; kàd sàríyà 2vb judge
 kā'ę ger kā'alím 1vb not exist/be/have
 kāl' kālá kāl- number
 kàlīgā' *q* few
 kām_a *q* every
 kàn *pn* this, that
 kànb ger kànbɪr 2vb scorch
 kàndɔg_o *adj* fat, tough (person)
 kàṅā' *pn* this, that
 kàr_a 1vb be few
 kárɪfà B3 *kerefa* (Ha *karfe*) in telling
 time: kárɪfà àtán' three o'clock
 kàrɪm 2vb read
 kàsēt_a' witness; testimony (French via
 Mooré); kàsētíb_a witnesses
 kē ipf kēt_a' imp kēl_a 2vb let, cause to
 kēkē kēkē-nām_a kēkē- bicycle (Ha)
 kēs 2vb say farewell to
 kēlɪg/kēlɪs 2vb listen
 kēñ ipf kēn_a' imp kēm_a ger kēn_n' 2vb
 come; kēn kēn welcome!
 kēs 2vb break
 kēṅ' ipf kēn_{na}' imp kēm_a 2vb go, walk;
 kēn_{na}' traveller
 kjà 2vb cut
 kīdɪg' 2vb cross over, meet;
 à Kīdɪgī · bū'əs Orion
 kīf_o' kī' kī-/kā- millet; kī-dā'ar -dá'adà
 bought millet; kā-wēnnīr -wēnnā -wén-
 corn
 kī'tb_o' soap; W kībú kīib- (Mampruli)
 kīs 2vb listen
 kī'us' 2vb deny
 kìkām_n kìkāmà fig; kì(ṅ)kàṅ_a kìkāmɪs
 kìkàṅ- fig tree, *Ficus capensis*
 kìkīrɪg_a' kìkīrɪs' kìkīr- (local En "fairy")
 protective spirit; hostile bush spirit;
 demon B2/3 (= B1 kìkīr-bê'ed)

- kīlum´ 2vb become, change into
 kīm 2vb tend flock/herd
 kimm *ideo* firmly, fast; exactly
 kīr ger kíkírvg_o/kīrb_o 2vb hurry, tremble
 kīs_a´ ger kīsvg_o 1vb hate; kīs(ud)_a´ hater
 kīsvg_o *adj* hateful, tabu
 kò 2vb get broken, break intr
 kòbvgā (sf/lf identical) *q* hundred;
 kòbvsí two hundred
 kòdvg´ 2vb cut throat (of one animal)
 kòdú banana (Twi)
 kòl 2vb put something around neck
 kòlbìr kòlbà bottle
 kòlv_a kòlv_s kòl- river;
 kòlv_g-n nó-dâvg_o crayfish
 kòlv_o kònv_n kòlv_g- sack, bag
 kò'm´ kòm- hunger
 kò'n'(okò) by oneself
 kònbìr kònbā kònb- bone
 kònbvg_o kònbvd kònb- animal hair;
 human body hair, cf zūəbvg_o; kònb-
 kīm_{na} -kimmīb_a shepherd/herder
 kòns/kònsim 2vb cough
 kò'og 2vb break
 kò'os 2vb break several times
 kòt´ 2vb cut throats (of several animals)
 kòtā_n *pt* at all §12.2
 kòtò lawcourt (En)
 kpà' 2vb nail, fasten
 kpà'a kpà'a-nām_a rich person
 kpāad_a´ kpāadīb_a kpāad- farmer
 kpà'am riches
 kpāam´ kpā- grease, ointment
 kpākūr´ kpākūyá kpākūr- tortoise
 kpān_n kpānā kpān- spear
 kpāndìr kpāndà kpānd- baboon
 kpār 2vb lock
 kpār-kêoŋ_o -kêénd -kén- rag
 kpá'vŋ_o kpī'iní kpā'- guinea fowl
 kpē *pn* here
 kpēēnm kpēēnm-nām_a kpēēnm- elder
 kpēēnm_a´ 1vb be older than
 kpēlá *pn* here
 kpēlum 2vb remain
 kpēlim *pt* still; immediately after §10.5
 kpèn *pt* = kpēlim
 kpēn' 2vb enter
 kpēndìr´ kpēndá kpēnd- cheek
 kpēn'ēs 2vb make enter
 kpē'ŋ 2vb strengthen
 kpēoŋŋ_o seniority
 kpì 2vb die
 kpì'a kpì'əs kpìà'- neighbour
 kpìà' lf kpì'a 2vb whittle
 kpì'e 2vb approach
 kpì'əm_a´ 1vb be strong, hard
 kpìvbìg_a kpìvbìs kpìvb- orphan
 kpìvg 2vb go out (fire)
 kpì'vlím 2vb finish, come to an end
 kpì'um kpì'umìs kpì'um- corpse
 kpìis 2vb quench
 kpìkpì_{na}´ kpìkpìnníb_a kpìkpìn-
 merchant
 kpì'oŋ_o *adj* strong, hard
 kpìsìŋkpìlì kpìsìŋkpìlà kpìsìŋkpìl- fist;
 also kpìsùkpìlì
 kpòkpàr kpòkpàrà palm tree fruit
 kpòkpàrv_a kpòkpàrv_s kpòkpàr- palm
 tree, *Borassus akeassii*
 kpòkpàvŋ_o kpòkpàmà kpòkpàvŋ- arm,
 wing
 kù *pt* not (irrealis) §10.4
 kù 2vb kill (Mooré *kv*)
 kù 2vb threaten (of rain): Sāa kú yā.
 It looks like rain (Mooré *kv*)
 kŋā 2vb hoe, farm
 kŋ'alíŋ_a kŋ'alí(m)_s kŋ'alíŋ- k/o smock
 kùd 2vb work iron
 kùdvg 2vb shrivel up, dry out, age
 kùdvm the olden days; also for kùlím *qv*
 kùdv_o/kùdìr *adj* old
 kùdv_o kùt kùt- (pl as sg) iron, nail

kù'əm kʷà'- water; kʷà'-nūud' thirst;

kʷà'-nwiīg_a' current

kùəs 2vb sell

kūgur' kūgá kūg- stone

kūk_a kūgʷs kūg- chair

kùk_a ghost

kūk_a' mahogany, *Khaya senegalensis*

kùkòm_n kùkòmà kùkòm- leper

kùkōr' kùkōyá kùkō(r)- voice

kùkpàrīg_a see kpùkpàrīg_a

kùkūr' kùkūyá kùkūr- pig

kūl ger kūlīg_a' 2vb return home;

(woman) marry

kūlīm *pt* always §10.3

kùlìŋ_a kùlì(mì)s kùlìŋ- door

kùm 2vb weep

kūm kùm- death; kùm-vū'ugír

resurrection B

kùndù'ar kùndù'adà kùnduà'-

barren woman

kùndùŋ_a kùndòmìs/kùndònà hyena

kūv *pt* or; ending questions §11.2.1

(Ha ko)

kūug_{a/ɔ}' kūus' kū- mouse

kùvɩ 2vb get drunk

kūvs' 2vb settle (legal judgment)

L

lā' *pt* the §9.7.2

là' 2vb laugh

lā'af_ɔ līgʷdī līg-/là'- cowrie; (pl) money;

là'-bīəlíf_ɔ small coin

lāafiyà/lāafi health (Ar *al-'āfiyah*)

là'am 2vb associate; *pt* together §10.5

là'as 2vb gather together tr; Bà là'as

tāabā They have gathered together.

làbāar làbà- news (Ar *al-akhbār*)

làb_y_a 1vb crouch behind something

làbɩ 2vb make crouch behind something

làbɩn 2vb crouch behind something

làbɩs 2vb walk stealthily

làbɩs_a' 1vb be wide

làbɩsíg_a/làbɩsír *adj* wide; làbɩsím width

lāk' 2vb open (eye, book)

lāl_l_a' 1vb be distant

lālīg' 2vb get to be far, make far

lālílí far off

lāllíŋ_a/lāllúg_ɔ *adj* distant

lām_n' lāmá lām- gum of tooth;

lām-fōɔg_ɔ *adj* toothless

làmpō' làmpō- tax (French *l'impôt*)

lān_n lānā làn- testicle

lànnìg_a lànnìs lànnìg- squirrel

lā'ŋ' 2vb set alight

làŋgáɔŋ_ɔ làŋgáam_n/làŋgāamá làŋgāɔŋ-

crab

làŋím 2vb wander around searching

lāuk_ɔ lā'ad là'- item of goods

là'ɔŋ_ɔ là'amà fishing net

lèb ger lēbīg_a 2vb return intr

lèbīg 2vb turn over; return

lèbɩs 2vb answer; return; divorce (wife)

lèɛ *pt* but §10.3

lèm *pt* again §10.5

lèm ipf lèmmìd_a 2vb sip, taste

lēr 2vb get ugly

lì *pn* it, its; lɩ it

lì ipf lit_a imp lim_a ger līīg_a 2vb fall

lī 2vb block up

là *pt* where is? §11.2.4

lìdīg 2vb turn a shirt W

lìdīg 2vb astonish, be amazed

lìəb 2vb become

lì'əl 2vb approach

lí'əm_n lī'əmá fruit of yellow plum tree

líŋ_a līəmís līŋ- axe

lí'ŋ_a lī'əmís yellow plum tree,

Ximenia americana

līg 2vb patch

līgɩ 2vb cover; līgɩn 2vb cover oneself

lībīr lībā līb- twin

līk_a līgʷs darkness

lìlāalíŋ_a lìlāalí(m)_s lìlāalíŋ- swallow
 lín *pn* it + ñ; līn it (free)
 lìn *pn* that; líná *pn* that
 lō 2vb tie
 lōb/lōbɨ́ 2vb throw stones at
 lōbudíŋ_a lōbudís water-drawing vessel
 lōdɨŋ_a lōdɨs lōd- corner;
 lōdɨŋ-*n* kúŋòr cornerstone
 lōdɨŋ 2vb untie
 lòk_ɔ lò'ad lɔà'- quiver for arrows
 lòmbòñ'òŋ_ɔ lòmbòñ'òd lòmbòñ'- garden
 (Ha *lambru*)
 lōŋ_a lōmɨs lòŋ- k/o frog
 lō'ŋ 2vb go across river, road
 lór lóyà/lóom_{ma} lór- car, lorry
 lòs 2vb dip, immerse in liquid
 lù ipf lùt_a imp lùm_a 2vb fall
 lūb ger lūbɨr 2vb buck, kick, struggle,
 throw off rider
 lūŋ 2vb swim
 lūŋɨr organ, member

M

m̀ *pn* I, my; m_a me
 mà mà- mother; pl mà nám_a sic §9.4
 mà' 2vb lie, deceive
 mà'àa lf mà'anè *pt* only §12.2
 màal 2vb make, sacrifice; màal-māan_{na}
 servant who conducts the slaying for a
 t̀eŋ-dāan_a; priest B1/2 (B3 *maanmaan*)
 mā'al 2vb make cool, wet
 māan_n māanā màan- sacrifice
 má'an_n mā'aná mā'an- okra
 mā'as_a 1vb be cool, wet
 mā'asíŋ_a/mā'asír cool, wet; mā'asíŋá'
 coolly; mā'asím coolness, wetness
 mādɨŋ 2vb overflow, abound
 mā'e 2vb cool down
 màk 2vb crumple up
 māk 2vb measure, judge

màlīāk_a màlīāk-nám_a/màlīā'as' màlīā'-
 angel (Ar *mal'ak*)
 màlɨf_ɔ màlì gun, rifle (Ar *midfa'*)
 màlɨŋim *pt* again §10.5
 mālɨs_a 1vb be sweet, pleasant
 mālɨsíŋ_a/mālɨsír/mālɨsíŋ_a *adj* sweet,
 pleasant; mālɨsím sweetness
 mālōŋ_ɔ mālɨmā màlòŋ- custom; sacrifice
 mām *pn* I, me
 mán *pn* I + ñ; mān lf mánè I, me (free)
 màŋŋáɨŋ_ɔ = làŋŋáɨŋ_ɔ
 màɨk_ɔ *adj* crumpled up
 mè 2vb build
 mè(n) *pt* also §12.2; mè-kàmà -soever
 mēd 2vb mash up
 mēeŋ_a mēemìs mēeŋ- turtle
 mēlɨŋim dew
 mēŋ_a *pn* self
 mēŋír *adj* genuine
 mēt' mēt- pus
 mī' ger mī'ilím 1vb know
 míif_ɔ mīiní okra seed
 mì'ig 2vb become sour
 mì'is_a 1vb be sour; mì'isòŋ_ɔ *adj* sour
 mìlɨŋ 2vb get dirty
 mìmīilím/mìmīilúŋ_ɔ sweetness
 mìt 1vb imp-only: beware; do not let
 mō 2vb strive, struggle
 mōd 2vb swell
 mōdɨŋ 2vb be patient, endure
 mòlɨf_ɔ mòlì mòl- gazelle
 mōn 2vb grind millet to make s̄ā'ab_ɔ
 mōŋ 2vb refuse to lend
 mōɨŋ_ɔ mōɨd mò- grass; back-country,
 "bush"; mò-pīl grass thatch
 mōɨl 2vb proclaim;
 mōɨl-mōɨn_{na} proclaimer
 mōr_a ger mōrím 1vb have; mōr nā bring
 mùà' 2vb suckle
 mùàk_a mù'as mùà'- maggot
 mù'ar mù'a(dà) mùà'- lake, reservoir

mù'as 2vb give suck to
 mù'e 2vb redden; ignite; become intense
 mùì mùì- rice
 mùl 2vb itch
 mùm 2vb bury

N

n *pt* (catenator) §11.3 §11.2.4
 n *pt* (past) §10.2 §11.2.3
 n *pn* you pl: see *ya*
 n/nī' *pt* (locative) §10.7.3
 ñ *pt* (nominaliser) §11.4
 nà *pt* (irrealis) §10.4
 nā' *pt* hither §10.8
 nā 2vb join
 náa *pt* (reply to blessings) §13
 nà'ab_a nà'-nàm_a nà'- chief, king;
 nà'-bīig_a prince/princess; nà'-yīr'
 palace; nà'-yī-kpém_{ma} courtiers
 náaf_o nīigí nā'- cow; nā'-dāv_o ox;
 nā'-lór place to tie cows up W
 nàam 2vb happen
 nā'am nà'am- chieftaincy, kingdom
 nāan next, afterwards (see *nyāan*)
 nāan *pt* in that case §10.3 §11.2.3
 nāan' ... n 2vb starting at ... do
 nà'anā' *ideo* easily
 nà'as 2vb honour; ger nà'asì honour
 nà'-dàwān_n' pigeon
 nāe' 2vb finish
 nàm *pt* still, yet §10.3
 nām_a (pluraliser) §6.1
 nāms' 2vb persecute, suffer
 nān 2vb love, respect
 nà'-nēsīnnēog_o' centipede W
 nānná(-nā') *pn* now
 nānzū'vs' pepper (? tones)
 nāŋ_a nāms nāŋ- scorpion
 nār_a' ger nārím 1vb need, deserve
 nārúŋ_o *adj* necessary

nàyīig_a nàyīig-nàm_a/nàyīis thief;
 nàyīigīm thievery
 nà'-zòm_n locust
 nē *pt* with §10.7.4; (linking NPs) and
 nē' *pt* (focus) §12.1
 nē' *pt* (after wūv/wēn_{na}') §10.7.4
 nē' *pn* this
 nèel 2vb reveal
 nèem for free
 nēem' 2vb grind with a millstone
 nēer' millstone
 nèes 2vb reveal; nèesim light
 nèiya 1vb be awake
 nēm-nêer -néyà grinder
 nēn_{na}' ger nēnním 1vb envy;
 nīn-nén_{na} envier
 nē'εŋā *pn* this
 nèog_o/nèer' *adj* empty
 nēsīnnēog_o' nēsīnnēed' nēsīnné-
 envious person W; others: centipede
 ñfá! *pt* Well done! §11.2.4
 nī' *pt* (locative) §10.7.3
 nì 2vb rain
 nīd_a' nīdūb_a' nīn- person; nīn-sāal_a
 human; nīn-pōnān_{na}' -pōnānníb_a
 -pōnán- disrespectful person
 nìe 2vb appear, reveal; waken
 nīf_o' nīn' nīn-/nīf- eye; nīf-gbāuŋ_o eyelid;
 nīf-sób_a miser; nīn-dāa -dāas -dā- face;
 nīn-gótìŋ_a mirror; nīn-gótìs spectacles;
 nīn-kúgudìg_a -kúgudìs eyebrow; nīn-
 tâ'am tear(s); nīn-múa concentration;
 M nīn' mù'e nē ... I'm intent on ...;
 nīn-baalìg_a pity; nīn-baal-zōor pity;
 Ò zòtō. nīn-baalìg. He has pity on him.
 níŋ_a nīim'ís/níis nīiŋ- bird
 nī'm_n' nīmá nīm- meat
 nīn-pôvd pus
 nīntāŋ_a' nīntāans' nīntāŋ- heat of the day

nīŋ_a nīis nīŋ- body; nīn-tōllīm fever;
 nīn-tāa -tāas -tā- co-wife; husband's
 brother's wife; nīn-gbīŋ_o -gbīnā -gbīŋ-
 body (pl often as sg); nīn-gòor neck
 nīŋ 2vb do
 nō 2vb tread
 nōb 2vb get fat
 nōbŋ' 2vb grow (e.g. child, plant)
 nōbur nōbā nōb- leg, foot; nōb-bīl_a toe;
 nōb-īn'a toenail; nōb-púmpàŋ_o foot
 nōk' 2vb pick up, take up
 nòŋ imp nòŋīm_a 1vb love;
 nòŋìd_a sic lover
 nōŋ_o nōŋ- poverty; nōŋ-dāan_a pauper
 nòŋìlīm love
 nōo pt exactly, just §12.2
 nōor' nōyā nō- mouth; command; nō-
 dí'ēs_a chief's spokesman ("linguist"),
 = Twi *okyeāme*; Wínà'am nó-dí'ēs_a
 prophet B; nō-lōor fasting; nō-nāar
 covenant; nō-pōor oath; nō-gbáŋ_o lip
 nōor' /nōorīm times (after numbers)
 nū 2vb drink
 nūa' nōos' nō- hen; nō-dāuŋ_o cock;
 Nō-nyā'aŋ-né-ò-bīis Pleiades
 nūlŋ' /nūlīs' 2vb make drink
 nū'ug_o nū'us nū'- hand, arm; nū'-bīl_a
 finger; nū'-dāuŋ_o thumb; nū'-īn'a -ēn'es-
 -ēn'- fingernail; nū'-wēn'ed_a mediator
 nŵà pt this §9.7.2
 nŵā' 2vb smash, break up
 nŵāaŋ_a nŵāamīs nŵāaŋ- monkey
 nŵādŋ_a nŵādīs' nŵād- moon, month;
 nŵād-bīl_a star; Nŵād-dár Venus
 nŵà'e 2vb cut wood
 nŵā'e' 2vb strike, break
 nŵām_n/nŵān_n nŵāmā/nŵānā
 nŵàm-/nŵàn- calabash
 nŵè' 2vb beat; nŵè' X nū'ug plead with X;
 nŵè' nŵō'og boast
 nŵīg_a nŵīis' nŵī- rope

nŵīg' 2vb make a rope
 nŵā'al' 2vb leave behind
 nŵāan pt next §10.3
 nŵā'aŋ_a adj female (animal)
 nŵā'aŋ_a behind; east; nŵā'an-dól_{la}/-dól_l
 -dól_{là}/-dól_lb_a -dól- disciple
 nŵā'ar nŵā'a nŵā'- root
 nŵāe_n' *ideo* brightly, clearly
 nŵālúŋ_o adj wonderful
 nŵàn_n shame
 nŵāŋ' 2vb overcome; succeed in
 nŵàuk_o adj single (of an eye)
 nŵē ipf nŵēt_a' imp nŵèm_a 2vb see, find;
 nŵē láafiyà get well
 nŵēε (tí) pt habitually §10.3
 nŵē'er' nŵēdá nŵē'- next-younger sibling
 nŵēs_a 1vb be confident; nŵēsīm
 confidence
 nŵēsŋ_a adj confident;
 nŵēsŋā' confidently
 nŵīn_n' nŵīnā nŵīn- tooth
 nŵīríf_o nŵīrī egusi, seed of
Colocynthis citrullus
 nŵōod intestines
 nŵō'og' chest
 nŵōog_o sympathy: Ò zòtō· nŵōog.
 She sympathises with him.
 nŵōor nŵōyā nŵò- nose, breath;
 nŵò-vūr' -vūyá -vūr- life
 nŵō'os' smoke
 nŵū'e' 2vb set alight
 nŵūur' nŵūyá nŵū- yam
 O
 ò pn he, she, his, her; o him, her
 ón pn he, she + ñ; òn he, she (free)
 òn pn this, that (animate sg)
 ònb ger ònbur 2vb chew
 òŋā' pn this, that (animate sg)

P

pà' *pt* earlier today §10.2

pà'al 2vb teach, inform; pā'an_{na}

pā'annīb_a pà'an- teacher

pà'al 2vb put on top of

pāalíg_a/páal_l *adj* new

pāalím recently

pāalú open space

pàańlúŋ_o pàańlím_s spiderweb

pàam 2vb receive a gift

pàas 2vb add up to, amount to

pāe' 2vb arrive; reach

pàk 2vb surprise

pàk 2vb take off from on top of

pāmm If pāmné *q* much, a lot

pàń'alím 2vb dedicate

pàńsıg 2vb lack

pàŋ_a pàańs pàŋ- power

pà' tì *pt* perhaps §10.3

pèbıs 2vb blow (wind); pèbı̀sım/pèbı̀sùg_o
wind

pè'el 2vb fill

pè'es 2vb add up to, amount to

pèlıg 2vb whiten, go white

pèlıs 2vb sharpen

pèn_n vagina

pē'ŋ' 2vb borrow; knock over W

pèog_o pèed pè- basket

pē'og_o pē'es' pē'- sheep; pē'-sá'a ewe
lamb

pēsıg' 2vb sacrifice

pjā 2vb dig up

pjāń' 2vb speak, praise; ger pjāuńk_o

pjāń'ad pjāń'- word, (pl) language

pıbıg 2vb uncover

pıbul 2vb cover up

pıbıń_n pıbıńā pıbıń- cover, lid

pıd 2vb put on (hat, shoes, rings), with
clothing item as object; with indirect
object, put (hat etc) on someone

pıd 2vb get bloated

pıdıg 2vb take off (hat, shoes, rings)

pıe' 2vb wash (own body)

pıəb 2vb blow (e.g. flute)

pıəlıg_a/pıəlı *adj* white (cf zıń'a);

pıəlım whiteness

pıəs 2vb fool someone

pıəs' 2vb wash

pııf_o pııńı pııń- genet

pııgā *q* ten

pıım' pıımá pıım- arrow

pııńı pııń- gift

pıł 2vb cover

pıłıg 2vb uncover

pıń'il' 2vb begin

pıpıırg_a pıpıırs' pıpıı- desert

pısí *q* twenty

pıtú pıtıb_a pıt- younger same-sex sibling

pō 2vb swear

pònd 2vb crouch down

pòń'ol' 2vb cause to rot

pòń'olım 2vb cripple, get crippled

pòń'or pòńdà pòń'- cripple

pòńr_a ger pòńrıb_o 1vb be near

pòńrıg_o *adj* near

pòod_a 1vb be few, small

pòodıg_a/pòodır *adj* few,

small; pòodım fewness

pōog_o pōod' /pōt' pō- field, farm

pò'og 2vb diminish, belittle

pōor' clan "slogan", part of its genealogy
W; from pō, cf Farefare pōre

"family name, name one swears by"

pū *pt* not (indicative) §10.4

pū 2vb divide

pıā' pıā'ab_a pıā'- woman, wife; pıā'-ēlıŋ_a

fiancée; pıā'-gıńńıg_a/-gōońdır

prostitute; pıā'-ńyá'añ_a -ńyá'as old

woman; pıā'-pāal_a' bride; pıā'-sādır'

nulliparous young woman; pıā'-

sāń'am_{na} adulterer; pıā'-yüa daughter

pıāk_a *adj* female (human)

pù'alìm 2vb harm, damage
 pù'alìm femininity
 pù'alím pù'alímıs pù'alím- female organs
 pùd 2vb name
 pūdıg´ 2vb divide, share out
 pùgudìb_a pùgùd-nàm_a pùgùd- father's
 sister
 pùkòònr pùkònyà pùkòñ- widow
 pùkpāad_a´ pùkpāadìb_a pùkpá- sic farmer
 pùlmà a grass, *Imperata cylindrica*
 pùmpōog_o housefly
 pùn pt previously, already §10.5
 pūn'e´ 2vb rot
 pūstg_a´ pūstı´ pūst- tamarind
 pūstı´ pūsá tamarind fruit
 pū-súk_a pū-súgus half
 pūt´ contents of stomach
 pūum´ pūum- flowers
 pūvg_a pù- belly; Ò mòr pūvg She is
 pregnant; pūvgū-n inside;
 pù-pìəłı upright person; pù-pìəłım
 holiness; pù-tèn'er -tèndà -tèn'- mind
 pūur´ stomach
 pù'us 2vb greet, worship, thank; ger
 pù'usım worship; ger pù'usùg_o thanks

S

sà pt yesterday §10.4
 sà pt hence, ago §10.8
 sã' 2vb be in distress
 sàa pt tomorrow §10.4
 sãa sãas sà- rain, sky; as subject of
 iãnk´: lightning; sãa díndēog_o´
 rainbow; sãa zúg_o sky
 sã'ab_o sà'- millet porridge, "TZ"
 sãafi lock, key (Twi)
 sàal_a sàalìb_a sàal- human; sàal-biīg_a
 human being
 sàalíñā´ smoothly
 sàam_{ma} sàam-nàm_a sàam- father §9.4
 sãam´ 2vb mash, crumble

sã'an´ in the presence/opinion of
 sãan_a´ sãam_{ma} sãan- guest, stranger
 sãannım strangerhood
 sãbulíg_a/sãbílı *adj* black (cf zìñ'a)
 sãbùà sãbùəs sãbùà- lover, girlfriend
 sãdıgım *pt* since, because §10.3 §11.4.1
 sãēñ_(ya) sãanb_a sãn- blacksmith
 sãkárug_o sãkárıd sãkár- fox
 sàlıbır bridle
 sãlımā sàlım- gold
 sãm_n´ sãmá sãm- debt; sãm-kpâ'as_a
 household servant
 sãmán_n sãmánà sãmán- open space in
 front of a zàk_a; Sãmán-piør traditional
 New Year ceremony
 sãn'am 2vb get/make spoiled, broken
 sãñá sãnsá sãn- time; sãn-kán *pn* then;
 when? sãn-sí'ə·n lã at one time
 sãñ-ğbàııg_o cloud, sky
 sãñgúnnır sãñgúnnà sãñgún- millipede
 sãpálı Harmattan part of úun_n
 sãpī If sãpī/sãpīné *ideo* straight
 sãrıgá prison (Ar *sāriqah* "fetter")
 sàrıyà law (Ar *sharī'ah*); sàrıyà-kāt_a judge
 sãvg_o´ sãad´ sã- broom, brush
 sàvk_o sà'ad dust mote
 sãvıg_o hospitality
 sè ipf sèed_a 2vb transplant
 sēoıng_o rainy season
 sè 2vb skin, flay
 sī'a *pn* sg some, any
 sīa sīəs sjà- waist; sjà-lōodııg_a belt;
 sjà-nıf_o´ kidney
 sjã'al´ 2vb get to be enough
 sjã'ar sjã'a sjã'- forest W; wilderness
 sjãk 2vb agree (Mooré *sake*); Ò pū sjãkì
 -fù nōoré. He hasn't obeyed you.
 sjãk´ 2vb suffice (Mooré *seke*)
 sībıg_a´ sībı sīb- k/o termite
 sīd_a sīdıb_a sīd- husband §9.4
 sīd *pt* truly §10.3

- s̀̀d̀̀d̀̀ s̀̀d̀̀- truth
 s̀̀e´ 2vb descend, be humbled
 s̀̀ēb̄ā pn some, any; s̀̀i'ə̀l̄a something, anything; s̀̀i'əm somehow, anyhow
 s̀̀g 2vb descend
 s̀̀ḡr´ guardian spirit
 s̀̀ḡr´ 2vb lower
 s̀̀ḡr̄ s̀̀ḡr̄á stopping-place
 s̀̀ḡa s̀̀is s̀̀- vital energy, a person's k̀̀k̀̀r̄s´; B spirit
 s̀̀ḡa s̀̀is African birch, *Anogeissus leiocarpa*
 s̀̀il̄m 2vb cite proverbs
 s̀̀il̄ŋ̄a/s̀̀il̄ŋ̄o s̀̀il̄(m̄)s/s̀̀il̄m̀̀ s̀̀il̄ŋ̄- proverb
 s̀̀īnd´ honey
 s̀̀īnf̄o´/s̀̀īnḡa´ s̀̀īns´ s̀̀īn- bee
 s̀̀i'rs´ 2vb touch
 s̀̀l̄īns̄īḡo s̀̀l̄īns̄īs ghost
 s̀̀l̄īns̄īūnḡo s̀̀l̄īns̄īnd spider
 s̀̀l̄v̄ḡo s̀̀n̄/s̀̀l̄s̄ s̀̀l̄- hawk
 s̀̀m 2vb sink in a liquid
 s̀̀n̄na´ ger s̀̀n̄n̄m 1vb be silent
 s̀̀ns̄áan k/o tiny ant
 s̀̀ŋ̄a s̀̀īns̄ s̀̀ŋ̄- k/o very big pot
 s̀̀i'ŋ´ 2vb begin
 s̀̀s̄ib̄ḡa s̀̀s̄ib̄s s̀̀s̄ib- neem tree, *Azadirachta indica*
 s̀̀s̄ib̄r s̀̀s̄ib̄à fruit of neem tree
 s̀̀s̄i'əm wind, storm
 s̀̀s̄òv̄ḡo·n between (B3 *svv̄gin*)
 s̀̀i'ŋ̄o s̀̀i'im̄s s̀̀i'ŋ̄- k/o big dish
 s̀̀o pn some(one), any(one)
 s̀̀ob̄a pn (dummy head)
 s̀̀ob 2vb darken; write
 s̀̀ob̄g´ 2vb blacken
 s̀̀ob̄r´ s̀̀ob- piece of writing
 s̀̀oē̄n̄(ya) s̀̀oē̄n̄b̄a s̀̀oē̄n̄- witch
 s̀̀oḡīàa soldier (En)
 s̀̀ol̄ŋ̄o´ s̀̀ol̄m̄á story
 s̀̀on 2vb rub
 s̀̀on'ēya´ 1vb be better than; s̀̀on'od̄a´ s̀̀on'ob̄a´ s̀̀on'od- surpasser
 s̀̀onn̄r s̀̀onn̄ā s̀̀on- yard-dividing wall
 s̀̀ons ger s̀̀ons̄iḡa 2vb converse, talk with
 s̀̀oē̄nḡo witchcraft
 s̀̀oē̄nr s̀̀oē̄nyā s̀̀on- liver; cane rat
 s̀̀os ger s̀̀os̄iḡa 2vb ask; s̀̀osa beggar
 s̀̀ò 2vb take a bath
 s̀̀uā´ 2vb do secretly, hide
 s̀̀uāk̄a´ hiding place
 s̀̀u'ēya´ 1vb own; ger s̀̀u'bl̄im s̀̀u'bl̄im- property, realm
 s̀̀uē̄n´ 2vb anoint
 s̀̀u'ə̄ŋ̄a s̀̀u'əm̄is s̀̀u'ə̄ŋ̄- hare
 s̀̀uēr´ s̀̀uāyā s̀̀uā- road; permission
 s̀̀u'əs̄a yesterday
 s̀̀u'əs 2vb trick
 s̀̀uḡr´ ger s̀̀uḡr̄ó 2vb show forbearance
 s̀̀u'm goodness; well
 s̀̀um̄ma 1vb be good
 s̀̀umm̄r s̀̀umm̄ā s̀̀um- groundnut
 s̀̀un̄n ger s̀̀unn̄r/s̀̀unn̄òḡo 2vb bow head; s̀̀un̄na close observer W
 s̀̀un'e´ 2vb become better than
 s̀̀un̄f̄o´/s̀̀uun̄r´ s̀̀un̄yā s̀̀un- heart; s̀̀un-b̄uḡos̄im peace; s̀̀un-kp̄i'ə̄ŋ̄o boldness; s̀̀un-m̄al̄s̄im/-m̄á'as̄im -m̄al̄s- joy; m̄ s̀̀unf̄ má'e yā I'm joyful; s̀̀un-p̄ē̄n̄ anger; m̄ s̀̀unf̄ p̄ē̄l̄ḡ nē I'm angry; s̀̀un-s̄ân'v̄ŋ̄o sorrow; m̄ s̀̀unf̄ s̄ân'am nē I'm sad.
 s̀̀uŋ 2vb help
 s̀̀uŋo adj good; s̀̀u'ŋā´ well; very much
 s̀̀ur̄a 1vb have one's head bowed
 s̀̀s̄ò̄m̄n grasshopper
 s̀̀uv̄g´ 2vb wither (leaves) W
 s̀̀u'v̄ḡa/o s̀̀u'vs s̀̀u'- knife

T

-tāa -tāas fellow- §7.2.1

tāab(ā) *pn* each other

tā'adīr tā'adā tà'ad- sandal

tàal_l tàalà tàal- fault, sin

tá'am_n tā'amá shea nut

tá'aŋ_a tā'amís tā'aŋ- shea tree

Butyrospermum parkii

tā'as' 2vb help someone to walk

tàb 2vb get stuck to; tàb_{ya} 1vb be stuck

tàb_{ig} 2vb get unstuck from

tàb_l 2vb stick to tr

tàd_{ig} 2vb weaken

tād_{im} tàd_{im}-nàm_a tàd_{im}- weakling

tàd_{im}ís weakness

tàm ipf tàmmìd_a 2vb forget

tàmpìiŋ_a rock

tàmpūr tàmpūr- ashpit, rubbish tip

tān_n tānā tàn- earth; tàn-mēed_a builder

tānp_o war; tàn_p-sōb_a warrior

tàns ger tàns_{ug} 2vb shout;

Winnìg tánsìd nē. The sun is shining.

tār_a' ger tār_{im} 1vb have

tàsìntàl/tàtál palm of hand

tāyūn' tānp_a' tāyūn-/tānp- opposite-sex sib

tèb ger tèb_{ig}_a 2vb carry in both hands

tèb_{ig}' 2vb get heavy

tèb_{is}_a' 1vb be heavy

tèb_{is}_{ig}_a/tèb_{is}_{ir} *adj* heavy; tèb_{is}_{im} weight

téebùl téebùl-nàm_a table (En)

tēeg' ipf tēed_a' 2vb drag, pull;

tēeg X tùbìr punish X

tè'eg_a tè'es tè'- baobab, *Adansonia*

digitata

tēk' 2vb pull

tèn_b ger tèn_{bug} 2vb tremble, struggle

tèn'es 2vb remind

tèn'es' 2vb think; ger tèn'esá thought

tèn_r_a ger tèn_r_{ub} 1vb remember

tēŋ_a tēēns tēŋ- land; tēŋ-biig_a native;

tēŋ-dāan_a earth-priest; tēŋ-dō'adīg_a

native land; tēŋ-gbàŋŋ_o land; tēŋ-

kpēŋ_a -kpēm_{is} -kpēŋ- village; tēŋ-

pōŋ_o' -pōŋd' -pō- village; tēŋ-sōk_a

centre; tēŋī-n/tēŋīr down; under

tèog_o tèed nest

tè'og_o tè'ed baobab fruit

tì *pn* we, our; tì us

tì *pt* next, then §10.5

tjà'al 2vb come next

tjàk 2vb change

tì'e 2vb rely on

tì'èb 2vb get ready; (Ar *tibb* "medical art") heal; tì'èb_a healer

tìen 2vb remember; W inform; stretch

tìeŋ_a tìem_{is} tìeŋ- beard; tìeŋ-gūr chin

tīg 2vb have in excess; ger tīg_r' glut

tì'iyā' ger tì'ib_o' 1vb (thing) lean

tì_{ig}_a tì_{is} tì- tree; tì-dāv_o -dāad -dā-

bow for arrows

tì'il' 2vb lean something

tì_{im} tì- medicine; tì-kōvd_{im} poison;

tì-sābul_{im} a traditional remedy

tì'in 2vb (thing) begin to lean

tìk' 2vb press; tìk nū'ug sign

tìlās necessity (Ha *tilas*)

tìl_{ig} 2vb survive, be saved

tìnām_a *pn* we, us (free); tìnāmì we + ù

tìntōnr_{ig}_a tìntōnr_{is} tìntōnr- mole

tìp_a tìp-nām_a tìp- healer

tìrāan_a tìrāan-nām_a tìrāan- peer;

tìrāann_{im} companionship

tìr_{ig}_a *ideo* for gīŋ_a short

tìs/tì- ipf tìs_{id}_a/tìt_a 2vb give; tìs_a giver

tìtā'al_l proud person; tìtā'al_{im} pride

tìtā'am multitude

tìtā'ug_o/tìtā'ar *adj* big

tò *pt* OK §11.2.4 (Ha *to*)

tòd 2vb give to the poor, share

tōe_{ya}' 1vb be bitter, difficult

tóklàe torch (En "torchlight")
 tólìb *ideo*
 tólìlìlì *ideo* for wók_o tall
 tòh 2vb shoot
 tòh'os 2vb hunt
 tōog_o *adj* bitter, difficult
 tōom' 2vb depart, disappear
 tò'otō' straight away
 tṵà 2vb grind in a mortar; tṵà-bīl_a pestle
 tṵà' 2vb speak, plead in court
 tò'al 2vb condemn in court
 tò'as 2vb talk; tò'as-tò'as_a talker
 tòb_{ur} tòbà tòb- ear; tòb-kpìr half of jaw
 tūədīr tūədā tòəd- mortar
 tūən_n in front; B3 *tuona* west;
 tūən-gāt_a leader
 tṵkpīdōg_o tumult, shouting
 tūl_a' 1vb be hot
 tūl_g 2vb invert
 tūl_g' 2vb heat up
 tūm 2vb work; ger tūm_n tūmā tūm-
 deed, (pl) work; tūm-tūm_{na} worker
 tūm ger tūtūm_s 2vb send
 tūn'e 1vb control; be able
 tūs_r' thousand
 tūtūl_l upside-down thing
 tūl_gā' hotly; tūl_g *adj* hot
 tū'us' 2vb meet

U

ùdug_o ùt ùd- piece of chaff
 ūg_s' 2vb bring up a child
 ùk 2vb lift up; vomit
 ūk 2vb bloat
 ùm 2vb close eyes
 úon_n dry season
 ūs' 2vb get warm (of a person)

V

vāb_{ya}' ger vāp_o'/vāb_{ur}' 1vb lie prone
 vāb_l' 2vb make lie prone
 vāb_{ur} 2vb lie prone
 vāe 2vb gather up
 vāvng_o' vāand' vān- leaf
 vē' 2vb lead
 vē'eg' 2vb drag
 vèn_{na}/vèn_l_a 1vb be beautiful
 vèn_{ll}_g_a/vèn_{ll}_l_g_a/vèn_n_g_a/vèn_n_r
adj beautiful; vèn_n_m beauty
 vī' 2vb uproot
 vīig' 2vb postpone, reschedule
 vīk' 2vb uproot
 vīug_o' vīid' vī- owl
 vōb' 2vb thrash
 vū ger vūug_o' 2vb make noise;
 vūud' noise
 vūē_{ya}' 1vb be alive
 vūē_g_a vūēm_{is} red kapok,
Bombax buonopozense
 vūēr vūāā vūē- fruit of red kapok
 vūl 2vb swallow
 vūl_nvūu_{nl} mason wasp
 vūm' vūm- life
 vūr' *adj* alive
 vū'ug' 2vb come/make alive
 vū'us' ger vū'us_m 2vb breathe, rest

W

wā' 2vb dance
 wāad' cold weather
 wāaf_o wīig_l wā'- snake
 wāal' 2vb sow seed
 wā'alīm length
 wā'am_a' 1vb be long, tall
 wāb_g_a/wāb_{ur} wāb_s/wābà wāb-
 lame person
 wāb_l_m 2vb make, go lame
 wābug_o' wāb_d' wāb- elephant
 wādā wād- (En "order") law

wà'e_{ya} 1vb be travelling
 wāl_g wāl_s/wāl_í *sic* wàl- k/o gazelle
 wàŋì_m 2vb waste away
 wàsìnwàl_l a parasitic gall on trees:
 local En "mistletoe"
 wàŋ_o *adj* wasted, thin
 wēl' 2vb be left unsold
 wēl 2vb bear fruit
 wēl_l' wēlá wēl- fruit
 wēlá/wālá *pn* how?
 nìŋ wēlá n/kà how can ..?
 wēn_{na}' ger wēnním 1vb be like
 wēnnīr *adj* resembling (tp A, W)
 wèog_o deep bush
 wēog_o' wēed' cheap thing sold in
 abundance W
 wjāk' 2vb hatch
 wìd_g 2vb scatter
 wìə_o wìdì wìd- horse; wìd-lōr' place to
 tie horses up
 wìd_a/wèed_a wìb_a wìd- hunter
 wīg_a' whistle
 wì_m disease ("worse than bān'as" W)
 wìk ipf wìid_a 2vb fetch water
 wì_l wìlà wìl- branch
 wìl_sú_o wìl_mís wìl_sú_g- k/o snail
 wím *ideo* for zìn'a red
 wīn_n' wīná wīn- spiritual essence; god;
 God; fate; wīn-tōog_o misfortune
 wìnnì_g wìn- sun; wìn-līir/-kòònr sunset
 wìug_o/wìir *adj* red (cf zìn'a)
 wōk_o'/wā'ar' *adj* long, tall
 wòm ger wōm_{mo}/wòm_{mo}g_o 2vb hear;
 smell; understand
 wōsā/wōv *q* all
 wōv *pt* like, resembling §10.7.4
 wō'v_g' 2vb get wet
 wō'vl' 2vb make wet

Y

yà *pn* you, your pl; *ya* you pl
 ya *pn* you pl (subject after imperative)
 yā *pt* (m/c-pf) §10.6
 yà' *pt* if, when §11.2.3;
 yà' nāan if only; yà' pòn even if
 yáa *pn* whither? yáa ní where?
 yáab_a yāa-nám_a yāa- grandparent §9.4
 yà'ab 2vb mould clay; yā'ad yà'- clay
 yà'al 2vb hang up; make perch
 yà'an 2vb perch
 yáaŋ_a yáas yāaŋ- grandchild, descendant
 yāar' 2vb scatter
 yāarì_m yāar- salt
 yà'as_(a) again
 yā'as' 2vb open repeatedly
 yàd(d)ā trust (Ha *yarda*)
 yād_g' 2vb scatter; yāt_a' participant
 in a housebuilding ritual
 yā'e' 2vb widen, open (mouth)
 yàk 2vb unhang, unhook
 yàl_g 2vb widen
 yàl_m_a 1vb be wide
 yāl_m' yālīm-nám_a worthless person
 yālsú_o yāl_mís yālsú_g- quail
 yàlò_o *adj* wide
 yām_n yāmā yàm- hay
 yām'/yā'am' W yām- gall (bladder);
 common sense
 yāmmò_g_a/yāmmòs yàm- slave
 yānám_a *pn* you pl (free);
 yānámì you pl + ò
 yàug_o yàad grave, tomb
 yē *pt* that §11.1
 yè 2vb dress oneself
 yèeg 2vb undress oneself
 yèel 2vb dress someone
 yēs' 2vb betray a secret
 yèl ipf yèt_a ger yèl_g 2vb say, tell

yēl_l´ yēlá yēl- matter, affair; (pl) about;
 yēl-mēñìr truth; yēl-náròñ_o necessity;
 yēl-pákìr disaster; yēl-súm_n blessing
 yēñím 2vb oscillate (like waves)
 yèog_o yèed bird's crop
 yèog_o yèed weed, straggler,
 person displaced from family
 yéon_q q one (in counting)
 yī ipf yīt_a´ imp yim_a 2vb go/come out
 yìdɪg 2vb go astray
 yīdɪg´ 2vb untie
 yìer jaw
 yīigá q firstly; yīig-sób_a first person
 yīs´ ger yīsíb_o 2vb make go/come out
 yīmmír adj unique, sole
 yīmmú q straight away, at once
 yīnní q one
 yìñ_a outside
 yīr´ yā´ yī- house; yī-dāan_a/-sób_a -sób-
 nām_a householder; yī-dím_a household
 members; yín_n at home pl yáa·n
 yīs 2vb make go/come out
 yīyñ_o´ adj single (of a pair)
 yò 2vb close
 yō 2vb pay; ger yōɔd´ pay
 yōlɪs´ 2vb untie
 yōlɪsím freedom
 yōlɪg_o´ yōn_n´ yōl- sack; £100, 200 cedis
 yò'og 2vb open
 yòor yòyà yò- soldier ant
 yuà 2vb bleed; fornicate W
 yū'adīr yū'adā rafter
 yùbɪg_a yùbɪs yùb- small bottle-like pot
 yū'ər yuādā yù'ər- penis
 yūgudīr yūgudā yūgùd- hedgehog
 yūgúm_n yūgumá yūgōm- camel
 yùlɪg 2vb swing tr
 yùug 2vb get to be a long time, delay
 yùul 2vb swing intr
 yū'um´ 2vb sing; yūum-yū'um_{na} singer
 yú'um_n yú'umá yú'um-/yūum- song

yùum_n yùumà yùum- year
 yū'bn pt then, next §10.3
 yú'uyñ_o yū'umís yū'uyñ- night
 yū'ur´ yūdá yū'- name
 yūur yūyā yù- water pot

Z

zā´ zā- millet
 zāal_l adj empty; zāalím emptily
 zāam zà- evening; zà-sìsōbur´ evening
 zàn'an_n zàn'anà hammer, bludgeon
 zàansìm 2vb dream; ger zàansúñ_o
 zàansímà zàansúñ- dream
 zāansím zāans- soup
 zàb ger zàbur 2vb fight; hurt; zàb-zàb_a
 warrior; gbān-záb_a leather-worker
 zàbul 2vb cause to fight
 zàk_a zà'as zà'- compound; zà'-nōor´ gate
 zàkìm 2vb itch
 zàlìñ_a zàlímìs zàlìñ- electric eel
 zàm ipf zàmmìd_a 2vb cheat;
 zàm-zām_{na} cheater
 zàmɪs 2vb learn, teach
 zān'a q every
 zàn'as 2vb refuse
 zànbul 2vb tattoo skin
 zānbīn_n zānbūnā zānbìn- tattoo; B sign
 zāñl_a´ ger zāñllím 1vb have in hands
 zāñl umbilicus
 zāñ 2vb pick up
 zāñgùem_n zāñgùemà zāñgùem- wall
 zāñkù'ar zāñkù'a(dà) zāñkùà'- hyena
 zēm_{ma}´ ger zēmmúg_o 1vb be equal
 zēmɪs´ 2vb make equal
 zēmmúg_o adj equal
 zī ger zīid´ 2vb carry on head;
 zī-zīid_a carrier (on head)
 zī' ger zī'ílím 1vb not know
 zì'e_{ya} ger zī'a/zī'əg_a 1vb stand
 zì'əl 2vb make stand; zì'əl nōor´ promise

zì'ən 2vb stand; Ò zì'ən nē. She's pregnant.

zīum' zī- blood

zīŋ_a zīmí zīm- fish; zīm-gbân'ad_a fisher

zī'isíg 1vb not know (clause-final only)

zìlìm_n zìlìmà zìlìm- tongue

zīlīnzīog_o *adj* unknown

zīm *ideo* for sābulíga black

zīnà today

zì'n'a/zèn'og_o *adj* red: zì'n'a and its synonym wìug_o cover all reddish shades, sābulíga all darker shades, and pìèlìga all lighter; other standard colour expressions exist, however, e.g.

wūb támpūbr nē "like ash" i.e. "grey"

zì'n'iy_a 1vb sit; ger zīn'ig_a zīn'is zì'n- place

zì'n'il 2vb make sit, seat

zì'n'in 2vb sit down

zīnzāyūg_o' zīnzānà zīnzáyūg- bat

zīrī untruth

zò ipf zòt_a imp zòm_a 2vb run; fear; ger

zūa/zōog_o pl zōos run; ger zòtìm fear;

Ò zòtō· nīn-báalìg. She pities him.

zōl 2vb castrate

zōlímís foolishness

zōlūg_o' zōn_n' zōl- fool

zōm' zōm- flour

zōom_n zōomā zōom- refugee, fugitive

zōrvga' small child W

zōrvg_o' zōrá piece

zū 2vb steal

zụà zụà-nàm_a zụà- friend

zù'e 2vb get higher, more

zùe 2vb perch, get on top

zūəbúg_o zūəbíd zūəb- (human head) hair

zùəd friendship

zùəl 2vb make to perch

zū'əm' zū'əmís zū'əm- blind person

zū'əm' 2vb go/make blind

zùən 2vb begin to perch

zūər zụāyā zụà- hill

zùəs 2vb befriend

zūg_o' zūt' zū(g)- head; onto, due to;

zūgú·n on; zūg-dāan_a master; zūg-

kūgūr -kūgā -kúg- pillow; zūg-sób_a

master (in B3 always "the Lord");

zū-péelèg_o *adj* bald; zū-píbíg_a hat

zùg 2vb work bellows

zùlìg 2vb deepen

zùlìm_a 1vb be deep

zùlùŋ_o *adj* deep; zùlùŋ_o depth

zùn_n civet

zùnzòŋ_{a/o} zùnzòŋs zùnzòŋ- blind person

zùŋ_o *adj* foreign

zūríf_o zūrí zūr- dawadawa seed

zú'bnf_o zū'bní dawadawa seed

zùuŋg_o zùuŋs/zùuŋd zùŋ- vulture

zūbr zūyā zù- tail